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ART. I.—UDAIPUR AND THE ROYAL HOUSE OF MEWAR.

FEW railway extensions of late years in India have been of more interest to the traveller in search of picturesque scenery, or of historic associations, than that which, a year ago, connected the outer world of the nineteenth century, as represented by the Rajputana-Malwa Railway, with the beautiful Rajput city of Udaipur, the capital of Mewar. For years past the reigning Maharana, mistrusting the advantages of western civilisation, had opposed the advance into the recesses of his kingdom of those iron roads which have done so much to revolutionise India. But the exigencies of modern life, even in the remote districts of Rajputana, and the importunities of his people, have overborne his well-grounded doubts, and at length the shriek of the locomotive echoes in the valley of the Arvali hills, hitherto disturbed by no harsher sound of traffic than the ring of horses' feet or the tinkle of the cattle bells. The steamers on the Grand Canal at Venice, or the tramcars in the Oxford High Street, are not more at variance with their surroundings. No country in the world can surpass in romantic historical interest this once-powerful State of Mewar; and few cities can vie with Udaipur in wealth of picturesque beauty. Standing on the shores of its glistening lake, under the very shadow of those wild Arvali hills which have more than once sheltered in distress the princes of its royal house, its surroundings, its buildings and its people recall the bye-gone days when Rajput and Mughal struggled for supremacy in India. Here, in the narrow bazars, we may still see the bearded Rajput, equipped with sword and shield, riding as proudly as of old through the crowd of base traders and menials; without the city the swarthy Bhil from the neighbouring hills, the scarce-tamed vassal of the Rajput kings, with bow and quiver at his shoulder, strides up the mountain path towards his village in the jungle; on the high road the dust is raised in white, thick clouds by herds of pack-bullocks, driven by those

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nomad traders, half gipsy, whole vagabond, who once were masters of the carrying trade of India, but who are now fast disappearing before the inexorable advance of British railways. On the hill above the town rises the white pile of the Maharana's palace, and in its courtyard the royal elephants stand tethered; horses in scarlet caparisons and gay trappings are led up and down by bright-clad attendants; the pigeons flutter from the roofs, and the kaleidoscopic stream of eastern life comes and goes on the steep steps of the palace doorway just as it has done any time these three hundred years. Here, too, may still be seen picturesque pageants, as yet unspoiled by any modern or discordant western element, when, at the festival of the spring hunt, the Maharana goes forth in state with his nobles to slay the boar in the jungles of the Arvalis; or at the Gangaur festival, when the benign goddess Gauri, the Ceres of the Rajputs, is borne by her attendant maidens, with songs and dances, to bathe in the waters of the lake; or again at the military festival of the *Dasahra*, when the Maharana, with all the pomp and circumstance which his State can show, reviews his troops on the "field of Mars," and witnesses the feats of arms of his warrior horsemen.

Nor is it surprising that, with such surroundings, the prince of Mewar should cling to the old customs of his race and be anxious to protect his people from the corrupting influences of "young India's" radicalism. From every point the town of Udaipur and its envioning landscapes present pictures of romantic beauty unsurpassed in any country. As we stand on the great embankment below the palace walls, and look westward over the shining lake in the white sunlight of early morning, the misty distance, where the wood-clad mountains dip, rugged and wild, towards the valley, reminds us of a summer in the Scottish Highlands. Or if, from the broad plinth of the hunting lodge on the western shore, we look back in the brilliant glow of sunset to where the temples and cupolas of Udaipur are reflected in the glassy surface of the lake, while over all towers the vast pile of the palace, its marble walls flushing to rosy crimson against the pale blue eastern sky, we can find no parallel for its peculiar beauty, unless it be in the heights above the Golden Horn, or in the palaces of the Dal Lake. But never do the romance and beauty of the place appeal to us so strongly as when, by the light of an Indian moon at the full, a boat bears us silently over the calm waters of the Udai Sagar. Then the ripples lap with their most soothing measure against the marble steps of the island palaces, whose picturesque beauty is united to a double historic interest. For here it was that the great Shah Jahan found an asylum when, as Prince Khurram,

he was fleeing from the displeasure of his father, the Emperor Jehangir; and here, two and a half centuries later, a band of British fugitives from the savage ferocity of the rebel sepoy, were sheltered within the same white marble walls. The buildings which had harboured the Mughal prince, afforded an equal protection to the servants of that western Power which had succeeded to the empire of the Mughals: and the Maharana in 1857 succoured his British allies in their distress with the same chivalrous devotion, with which his ancestor had defied the anger of the Emperor of Delhi.

Towards the town the moon-light glints on the marble pinnacles and battlements of the palace, but the great mass of the building is in deep shadow, and darkest of all are the stern and lofty walls of the zanana, which fall sheer into the blue depths of the lake. From one tiny casement, high up above the water, the light of a lamp makes a yellow spot in the surrounding gloom, and from it the monotonous chant of the nauch girls floats out on the still night air and suggests how the ladies of the palace are whiling away the tedious hours.

What sad stories of dull, monotonous life and even of tragic death do not those forbidding walls bring to our minds! Within them it was that the cruel tragedy was enacted which, less than a century ago, drew down a blighting curse on the royal house of Mewar, when the rivalry for the hand of the Maharana's beautiful daughter, Kishna Kumari, was terminated only by the barbarous murder of the object of the strife. The Rajput chiefs of Jodhpur and Jaipur were the rival suitors, and each threatened armed hostility if his claims were not favoured. The State of Mewar had been reduced so low by centuries of strife with Mahomedan and Mahratta that her prince viewed with dismay the prospect of adding to the numbers of his enemies; but to the notorious Amir Khan, the Pathan free-booter, who was eventually crushed by the army of Lord Lake, is ascribed the infamous plan of avoiding the difficulty by the murder of the unfortunate girl. It is related that a wretch, deputed to execute the deed, was disarmed by the beauty and innocence of the victim, and that it was not until poison had been three times administered and three times failed, that the fell purpose was accomplished. But the atrocity brought a signal punishment, and never since that day has the throne of Mewar descended from father to son.

Stories such as this, however, are neither characteristic of the Rajput race, the most noble and chivalrous of the peoples of India, nor of the royal family of Mewar, the acknowledged chief of the Rajput States. On the contrary, their history is rendered illustrious by tales of noble self-sacrifice and patriotic

devotion, worthy of the great descent which they trace, through the hero Rama, to the life-giving Sun-god himself. From prehistoric times their ancestors have been lords of men, and have ruled in turn in Ajodhya (the modern Oudh), in Saurashtra (now Kathiawar), in Bhilwar, and, finally, in Mewar; from their stock sprang the Mahratta dynasties of the Peshwas and the Bhonslas, as well as the present ruling family of Nipal; nor have they ever, even in the face of the severest reverses, forgotten the dignity of their race, or joined in intimate alliance with the alien peoples who have from time to time established themselves in India.

The present capital is a city of comparatively recent growth, and has not been the scene of any of those exploits in war of which the Rajputs are justly proud; but it stands amongst the same hills and woods which were the very nursery of the greatness of Mewar, and which witnessed many of the deeds that ennobled her decay.

Here it was, some sixteen hundred years ago, that the Rajput queen found a refuge, the sole survivor from the sack of the Saurashtra capital of Balabhi, and here, amid the rugged hills, her son was born, surnamed Goha, "the cave-born," from the place of his birth. Here the child was reared, protected by the Brahman priest of a local shrine, and lived as a shepherd lad, until the dark Bhils of the surrounding jungles, instinctively recognising the nobility of his race, chose him to be their king, and impressed with blood on his forehead the *tika*, or mark of sovereignty. Two centuries later, they were Bhils who aided the descendant of Goha to attain to the throne of Chitor, and who stamped his brow with the kingly emblem; and the same wild race still claims the privilege of performing the ceremonies of enthronement when a new Maharana is proclaimed in Mewar.

In these same recesses of the Arvali hills, about the sixth century of our era, a young boy named Bappa, again the sole survivor of the royal house, was protected by a Brahman of the very shrine of Nagda whose priest had preserved his ancestor, Goha. Here he was bred, and, as his forefather had done, he lived the life of a simple shepherd, until his princely origin was miraculously proclaimed. It is related that, as he wandered through the thickets in the neighbourhood of Nagda, Bappa happened on the retreat of a saintly hermit, who had renounced all worldly things, and had here devoted himself to the contemplation of the great God and Creator. Encouraged by the sage, he continued to visit the spot, bringing offerings of milk and flowers for the deity, and performing acts of service for the old man, until the latter's period of probation on earth drew to a close. He then invested his young disciple

with the office of Vice-gerent, or Diwan, of the shrine, and recommended him to the goddess Kali, who, it is said, herself deigned to appear to the youth, and with her own hands equipped him with lance, bow, sword and shield, with which she sent him forth to fortune and sovereignty. In after years the temple of Eklingji was erected on the spot where the hermit had dwelt; and to this day, when the Maharana of Mewar visits the shrine, he is hailed as Diwan, the attendant priest gives place to him, and he himself performs the service of the god.

Sent forth with the blessing of divine favour, Bappa made his way to the rock city of Chitor, or Chitorgarh, where he rose to great power and finally established himself as its sovereign. This was the scene of the greatest deeds of daring and of the noblest achievements of the Rajputs of Mewar, although the chief beauties of the country are to be found around Udaipur, on the shores of the great lakes—the Jai Samand and the Raj Samand, or in the mountain valleys about Eklingji.

The rampart-crowned heights of Chitor were a home well suited to be the central bulwark of a warlike nation. A narrow hill, some three and a half miles in length, by half a mile broad, it rises precipitously from the plain to a height of about 500 feet, and forms the most conspicuous object in the landscape on the modern Rajputana railway, at the point where the new branch line to Udaipur joins the main line.

Its steep and rocky sides needed but small labour in scarping and solid bastions to become impregnable when defended by a courageous garrison, while the peculiar formation of the hill top, which is hollowed by nature into the fashion of a narrow trough, rendered the protection of the city, and its supply with abundance of water from the easily constructed tanks, a matter requiring neither much engineering skill nor ingenuity. On this rugged hill grew up the city, which for eight hundred years was jealously guarded by the warriors of Mewar; this was the spot which was looked on as the centre and essence of the kingdom, and to defend which the greatest princes and nobles of Rajputana were ever ready to bleed or to die. To the splendour of the ruins of Chitor, fifty years after its final abandonment as the capital of Mewar, testimony is borne by the historian of the Mission from Queen Elizabeth to the Emperor Jehangir, who writes: "The stately ruins thereof give a shadow of its beauty while it flourished in its pride, and to this day the remains of the palaces and temples, crowned by the beautiful and still perfect Tower of Victory, are as impressive as the desolation of the place is melancholy."

Here for many years ruled the hero Bappa, the 'Mountain

Lord,' whose exploits have caused him to be worshipped by his descendants as a demigod. As the portents and adventures surrounding his early life were marvellous, so, too, strange legends are related about his latter days, when he is said to have journeyed to the distant country of Khorasan, and there, having conquered the kings of that place, as well as of the neighbouring territories of Kashmir and Kafiristan, to have settled and established another kingdom, and founded the race of the Nowshera Pathans. Another story says that at the close of his reign he renounced the world, and retired to the Bhil hills, where he ended his days as an ascetic amid the scenes of his boyhood's exploits.

Of the city which he made his capital, every stone now remaining reminds the traveller who wanders amongst its ruins of some deed of daring or romantic legend. Most hallowed by antiquity is the smaller Tower of Victory, which, erected by the Rana Allu-ji almost exactly a thousand years ago, has survived unscathed by storm and siege, and still looks out over the scenes of by-gone greatness. Hard by, its ancient stones yet cooled by the green, still waters of the tank, is the palace of the princess Padmini, the "all-beautiful," whose name recalls one of the most romantic stories of history. It was when Ala-ud-din Khilji, the Pathan conqueror of India, was in the full tide of his success that Bhim Sing, the uncle and guardian of the young Rana of Mewar, took to wife this lovely daughter of the Chohan Rajputs of Ceylon. The fame of her beauty spread far and wide, and desire to possess such a prize was an even stronger lure to the Muslim conqueror, than was the wish to subjugate the proud Rajput capital. Collecting a powerful army, Ala-ud-din laid siege to Chitor; but its resources proved too strong for him, and his repeated attacks were again and again defeated. At length, after a long and fruitless siege, the invader, by a treacherous ambush, made Bhim Sing a prisoner, and, to the despair of the Rajputs, would accept no ransom but the surrender of Padmini herself. But the gallant defenders of Chitor were not to be thus easily worsted, and recourse was had to stratagem. Padmini was to be handed over on a certain day, but it was stipulated that she should not go unattended to Delhi, and accordingly seven hundred closed litters accompanied the royal palanquin into the Muslim camp. The whole were carried into the enclosure where Bhim Sing was confined, in order that the princess might take leave of her lord, and, a moment afterwards, instead of Padmini and her attendant ladies, seven hundred of the flower of Mewar issued from the tents, and, with Bhim Sing at their head, set themselves to cut their way back to Chitor. The slaughter which ensued was terrible,

and but few of the gallant band regained the fortress. Bhim Sing himself was amongst those who fell, having (in the picturesque imagery of the eastern chronicler) "spread a coverlet of slain on his bed of honour." But the losses of the Muslims were also too great to allow them to continue the struggle, and Ala-ud-din drew off his army for the present. His determination to conquer was, however, unshaken; and a few years later he returned in still greater strength, and closely invested the hill of Chitor. The garrison was sore-pressed, and many of the noblest and bravest had fallen in the daily conflicts, when the guardian goddess appeared by night to the Rana, and, declaring herself to be an hungered, demanded the lives of twelve successive kings, or else the land of Mewar must pass from the line of Bappa. Twice was the vision repeated, and on the third day the Rana formed his resolution. Summoning his twelve sons, he told them of the oracle, and, forthwith resigning his crown to the eldest, sent him forth to battle at the head of the armies of Mewar. The youth fell, and on the following day his place was taken by a younger brother; and so, day by day, the royal sacrifice continued, until eleven brothers had fallen and there remained only the second son, his father's favorite, who, sorely against his will, had been restrained by the Rana from taking his turn in the defence of Chitor.

But still the foe pressed the siege closer and closer, and it was evident that, though Bappa's line might be preserved, his capital must fall, at least for a time, into the hands of the Muslims. That the tale of the sacrifice might be complete, the Rana once more assumed the badges of sovereignty, and, mustering such as remained of his nobles, prepared to meet death boldly in one last charge against the hostile ranks. Before that final effort, however, it was necessary to secure the wives and daughters of Mewar from the pollution of the spoiler, and to that end the awful rite of *Johar* was now for the first time instituted, destined to be a terrible precedent for future generations. The Royal princesses, the wives of the nobles, all the women of Chitor, were collected together in subterranean passages and chambers beneath the palace; huge fires were lighted within every exit; the openings were closed and sealed, and thousands of Rajput women thus found a sure escape from the lust of the victorious invaders. This sacrifice accomplished, the Rana and his followers clad themselves in the saffron-coloured robes which denote devotion to heaven, and, throwing open the gates, rushed against the Muslim army, and to a man perished in the hopeless struggle. Thus was the hunger of the goddess of Chitor appeased; but not without result, for, in the confusion of the battle, Ajai Sing, the second son of the Rana, with a small band of devoted

adherents, made his way through the lines of the enemy and escaped to the fastnesses of the Arvali hills, bearing in his charge the infant Hamir Sing, the child of the Rana's eldest son.

Another of the famous buildings of Chitor which still bear witness to its former glories, is the shrine erected to Brahma, the all-pervading spirit of life, by Lakha Rana, the grandson of him who was saved as a child from the sack of the city. This same Lakha was the monarch whose eldest son, Chonda, was content to forego his birthright for reasons which seem strangely foolish to western readers. Lakha was advanced in years, when it happened that the prince of the Rajput State of Marwar sent ambassadors to propose an alliance of marriage between his daughter and the house of Mewar. Chonda was at the time absent from the capital, and his father put off replying to the embassy until he should return, saying laughingly that the proposals could hardly be intended for an old man like himself. This saying was repeated to Chonda ; and, so punctilious are the Rajputs in any matter connected with women, that the young prince took offence at his father having made jest on a matter connected with his marriage, and refused to have anything to say to the proposals. The difficulty was solved by Lakha accepting the offer of marriage on his own account, but only on the condition that, if a son should be born of the union, Chonda should surrender to him the right of succession. In the event, a prince, afterwards the Rana Mokajji, was born, and thereafter Chonda and his descendants abandoned all claim to the sovereignty, but became the premier nobles of Mewar. They retained, in virtue of their birth, as well as of subsequent services to the State, the right to affix their sign manual, the 'spear of Salumbra,' to all crown grants (a custom which still survives), as well as the privilege of leading the van of the armies of Mewar in battle. Once only in after history was this right contested. It was in the reign of Rana Amara Sing, who recovered Chitor after its last capture by Akbar, and the occasion was the attack on the fortress of Untala, whose ruins still stand near the road from Chitor to Udaipur. The clan which dared to dispute the leadership of Mewar with the Chondawats, the hereditary vanguard, was that of the Saktawats, a family also of royal descent. The feelings of rivalry ran high, and threatened to lead to fatal disaster, when, with ready tact, the Rana decided that the privilege should in the future belong to that clan which should first make its way into Untala ; and at the same time he arranged the details of the attack, ordering the Saktawats to assail the gateway of the fortress, the Chondawats to attempt to scale the walls. Both parties moved off at one

moment ; the Saktawats forced their way through the approaches to the very gate itself ; but here their advance was checked by heavy doors studded with iron spikes, which prevented the elephant on which rode Balo, the leader of the clan, from pushing down the obstacle. At this moment a shout was heard from the wall of the fort. Guessing that this betokened the success of their rivals, Balo descended from the elephant, and, throwing himself in front of it, ordered the mahout instantly to cause the animal to burst down the doors, his own body protecting it from the pain of the protruding spikes. The man obeyed ; the gates were burst open, and the Saktawats rushed into the fort over the crushed and lifeless body of their chief. But the sacrifice was too late ; the shout, which had goaded Balo to self-destruction, was indeed the announcement of the success of the Chondawats. As they scaled the ramparts, their leader was struck down lifeless by the enemy ; but the next in rank, catching up the body, bore it on his shoulders up the ladder, and, hurling it before him over the wall, claimed the victory for his clan, whose chief was first within the walls. A moment more and he followed his dead leader into the fort, and the rest of the clan, rushing up, carried the rampart just as their rivals sprang through the gateway. Thus was the leadership of Mewar retained by the Chondawats, nor has their prerogative been ever again disputed. The city of Chitor was in the zenith of her beauty, when, some two and a quarter centuries after its first sack, it fell again into the hands of the Muslims. The conqueror on this occasion was Bahadur Shah, King of Gujrat, and, by a strange chance, it was the Muslim Emperor Humayun who came to the aid of the Rajput Capital. Although he arrived too late to save it from capture and pillage, and from the dread rite of Johar, which, as on the former occasion, preceded the final sortie of the garrison, he nevertheless speedily compelled the invader to yield up possession of the fortress, which he restored to its rightful owners. The story of how the Mussulman came to aid the Rajputs is a romantic and interesting one. There is amongst the Rajputs an ancient festival, especially honoured in Mewar, the principal ceremony of which is the sending of a bracelet by the ladies of Rajput families to any man in whom they may desire to express their esteem and confidence. The man so honoured is termed the 'bracelet-bound (*rakhi-band*) brother' of the lady from whom he receives the tokens, and he must be ready at all hazards to go to her assistance and to succour her in her need. Such a token had been sent to the Emperor Humayun by Kurnavati, queen of Mewar, and, when Chitor was hard pressed by Bahadur Shah, she demanded from her adopted brother the fulfilment of his bounden duty, and assistance against the Gujrati. How the emperor

answered her prayer, has been already told : nor was his aid unavailing, for the queen herself, with her infant son, Udai Sing, had succeeded in escaping from the capital before it was closely invested.

The child thus preserved was the same who afterwards, when Rana, founded the present beautiful Capital. But, although his name is thus preserved from oblivion, his character fell far short of the heroic qualities of his ancestors who had so fiercely defended their rocky home in Chitor. He lived to see the armies of the great Akbar encamped before the fortress, his host extending for a distance of ten miles over the plain, his own quarters marked by the marble pyramid which still exists and bears his name. But, to the shame of the family, at the approach of this danger, the Rana sought safety in flight, and, for the first time in its history, no ruling prince remained in Chitor to lead the chivalry of Mewar to battle. Two worthy substitutes, however, were found, in Jaimal, chief of Badnur in Marwar, and Patta, the youthful Mewar prince of Kailwa. When the resources and strength of Chitor were ebbing fast, his mother, with the courage of a true Rajput, bade Patta don the yellow robe of self-devotion, and, with her own hands arming the chief's young wife, as well as herself, the three sallied forth at the head of the army and found a glorious death in the cause of their country. On Jaimal now devolved the leadership, and his resistance might have been prolonged, but that, by sad mischance, he was struck by a stray ball, while standing on the ramparts of the fort. Sorely wounded, he determined to die with his harness on his back, and he forthwith summoned the warriors of Mewar to the forlorn hope. Once more the "fatal *Johar* was commanded, while eight thousand Rajputs "ate the last '*bheera*'* together, and put on their saffron "robes ; the gates were thrown open ; the work of destruction "commenced, and few survived 'to stain the yellow mantle' by "inglorious surrender." (Tod's Annals of Rajasthan). The whole of the nobility of Mewar, with their wives and daughters, perished in this awful slaughter, which was followed by the entire destruction of the city at the hands of the victors. Well may the Rajputs hold the story accursed, and use the invocation of "the sin of the slaughter of Chitor" as the strongest and most binding of oaths.

Thus ended the third and last siege of Chitor. The Rana Udai Sing fled to the Bhil hills, where, in the Girwar valley, he founded a new city, and called it after his own name. The old capital was never rebuilt, and, although its ruins on the rocky hill were the continued cause of struggle between Muslim and

* The '*bheera*' is somewhat similar to our 'stirrup cup,' and consists in partaking of *betel* and *pan* previous to starting on a journey or enterprise.

Rajput, until they were eventually recovered by the latter in the reign of Amara Sing, yet the glory of the place had departed, and only the broken ramparts, the ruined palaces, the dried up tanks, and, over all, the two great towers of Victory, which were spared from destruction by Akbar, remain, amidst the tangled overgrowth of Indian vegetation, to recall to us the scenes where Bappa ruled, where Padmini reigned, the supreme queen of beauty, where Patta and Jaimal fought and fell for country and for fame.

The scenes which have been sketched in these pages are but a few amongst a vast collection of romantic legends and glorious records which crowd the annals of Mewar, and which give life and interest to every stone in her ancient forts and picturesque cities. The deeds of Sanga Rana alone would afford subject for as noble an epic as was ever inspired by Hector of Troy, or Arthur of Lyonesse; nor do the minstrels of Udaipur ever tire of singing how he fought against the Muslim, until at length, when death claimed him, maimed crippled and scarred with eighty wounds of sword and lance, he was but the wreck of the mighty warrior who had crossed swords with the great Baber himself. We have not space here to give more than a passing allusion to the gallant Partab, who was content to live in wattled huts beside the Udai Sagar, rather than build palace or fane in a new home while Chitor, the jewel of Mewar, remained in alien hands. Never has history shown brighter example of heroic fortitude and steadfast perseverance than in his prolonged struggle amidst the fastnesses of the Bhilwar mountains, against the foes of his fatherland. "There is not a pass in the Alpine Aravali that is not sanctified by some deed of Partab—some brilliant victory, or oftener more glorious defeat." Well might such men as these bear for their motto the stirring words, "Who steadfast keeps the faith, him the Creator keeps."

The glistening palace of Udaipur, set in the dark ring of the Arvali hills, is reflected in the smooth waters of the lake with an unimpaired beauty; but the glories of Mewar lie buried beneath the ruins of the frowning fortress of Chitor, once her safety and her pride. Gone for ever are the days of the supremacy which saw her, single-handed, stem the overwhelming flood of Muslim invasion, when the greatest princes of India sought her alliance, and when her sons went forth to found royal dynasties in every quarter of Hindustan; yet the glorious annals of Chitor, and of the golden sun of Mewar, invest her, even in her decay, with a dignity and a pathos which might worthily inspire the song of poet or the pages of romance.

ART II.—MILTON'S HISTORY OF RUSSIA.

“—call up him that left half told
The story of Cambuscan bold. . .”

THERE is one department of literary history on which a very interesting chapter still remains to be written—the unknown works of famous writers. We do not so much mean information simply curious, such as that Euripides and Racine, most tragic of poets, each wrote a comedy so unrestrained as almost to become a farce; or that the *Cyclops* is accessible in English in an excellent version by Shelley; or, again, that the Walpurgis revels in Faust have been finely translated by the same poet. These works, though hardly ever read, are yet well enough known, to the text books, at all events; while of the class of works which we mean, even the text books are quite silent.

A practical instance: how many even of professed students know that the author of *Paradise Lost* and *Lycidas* wrote a history of Russia, containing a description of the Empire of the Tsars as it was in his day; a list of its rulers, with brief historical notes; a description of the coronation of John the Terrible's son, Theodore; a record of early English voyages to Russia, by way of the White Sea, and a brief bibliographical study of their works? Even close readers of Milton, who have read not only *Areopagitica* and *Eikonclastes*, but more recondite works like *Tetrachordon* and its sequel *Colasterion*, will be constrained to admit that the history of Russia is quite strange to them.

Since this is so, and the subject of the book as important as the writer is famous, we believe that we shall be justified in making known its contents at some length, when much of it will be found not only interesting, but even extremely entertaining reading. The full title of this curious work, which was first published in 1682, eight years after Milton's death, is as follows: “MOSCOVIA: or, RELATIONS OF MOSCOVIA, as far as hath been discovered by English voyages; gathered from the writings of several Eyewitnesses: And the other less known countries lying eastward of Russia as far as Cathay, lately discovered at several times by the Russians.”

The brief preface is so characteristic that we are tempted to transcribe it in full:—

“The study of geography is both profitable and delightful; but the writers thereof, though some of them exact enough in setting down longitudes and latitudes, yet in those other

relations of manners, religion, Government, and such like, accounted geographical, have for the most part missed their proportions. Some too brief and deficient satisfy not; others too voluminous and impertinent cloy and weary out the reader, while they tell long stories of absurd superstitions, ceremonies, quaint habits, and other petty circumstances little to the purpose. Whereby that which is useful, and only worth observation, in such a wood of words, is either overslipped or soon forgotten; which, perhaps, brought into the mind of some men more learned and judicious, who had not the leisure or purpose to write an entire geography, yet at least to assay something in the description of one or two countries which might be as a pattern or example to render others more cautious hereafter, who intended the whole work. And this perhaps induced Paulus Iovius to describe only Moscovy and Britain. Some such thoughts, many years since, led me at a vacant time to attempt the like argument, and I began with Moscovy, as being the most northern region of Europe reputed civil; and the more northern parts thereof first discovered by English voyagers, wherein I saw I had by much the advantage of Iovius. What was scattered in many volumes, and observed at several times by eyewitnesses, with no cursory pains I laid together, to save the reader a far longer travail of wandering through so many desert authors; who yet with some delight drew me after them, from the eastern bounds of Russia to the walls of Cathay, in several late journeys made thither overland by Russians, who describe the countries in their way far otherwise than our common geographers. From proceeding further, other occasions diverted me. This Essay, such as it is, was thought by some, who knew of it, not amiss to be published; that so many things remarkable, dispersed before, now brought under one view, might not hazard to be otherwise lost, nor the labour lost of collecting them."

One questions whether it is more amusing to find the author of *Paradise Lost* embarked on a literary enterprise like this in order to give a lesson to prolix geographers; or to watch him play the part of modest author, induced to come into print by the appreciation of kind friends who have seen his manuscript. When the work itself, or this evidently later preface, was written, we have not hitherto been able to discover, as all the text-books are silent even as to the existence of this work; but it is clear that the kind friends and their persuasion were nevertheless ineffectual, since the work was first published eight years after its author's death.

At any rate, the lesson to the geographers is skilfully planned, for the "architectonics" of Milton's work leave nothing to be desired in point of orderly arrangement. We

have, first, a chapter descriptive of Russia proper, that is, the European dominions of the Tsar ; then brief descriptions of the two great divisions of Russia in Asia, then subject to Moscow—the northern, along the Arctic Ocean ; and the southern, on the Chinese border. These are followed by a brief historical outline of the history of Russia, from the pre-Christian days of the Norman dukes, down to the end of the sixteenth century, with a fine description of the coronation of the last Tsar of the old Norman line, and a brief note of the election of the first Romanoff, though Milton nowhere mentions the since famous name of that splendid dynasty. Milton's fifth and last chapter is the most interesting and important from a scientific and historical point of view, since it gives us a very minute chronological account of early English voyages to the northern ports of Russia, with particulars which it is doubtful if research could reconstruct at this late date. This chapter is closed by a bibliographical note of his authorities, being the narratives and journals of the voyagers whose history he has already sketched.

In the first chapter, the general description of European Russia, our attention is immediately arrested by the boundaries which he assigns to the Tsardom. "The Empire of Moscovia, or, as others call it, Russia," he tells us,—“is bounded on the north with Lapland and the ocean ; southward by the Crim Tartar ; on the west by Lithuania, Livonia, and Poland ; on the east by the river Ob, or Oby, and the Nagazan Tartars on the Volga as far as Astracan.

Here is food for reflection. The only boundary, to speak quite strictly and literally, which has remained unchanged, is "the ocean ;" in every other direction, that is, in every direction where an advance was possible, the limits of Russia have moved forwards and outwards ; so that every one of the countries named by Milton—Lapland, the Crimean and Nagazan Tartar, Lithuania, Livonia and Poland—now owes allegiance to the Tsardom of Moscovia, "or, as others call it, Russia." Of course, this does not anything like exhaust the expansion of Russia during the three centuries since Milton wrote, nor is there the slightest likelihood that Russia has now come to a standstill.

We may trace the beginning of what may almost be called a popular superstition in Milton's next words : "The north parts of this country are so barren, that the inhabitants fetch their corn a thousand miles ; and so cold in winter, that the very sap of their wood fuel burning on the fire freezes at the hand's end, where it drops. The mariners which were left on shipboard in the first English voyage thither, going up only from the cabins to the hatches, had their breath so con-

gealed by the cold, that they fell down, as it were, stifled." From descriptions like these has arisen the popular and oft repeated notion that "it is cold in Russia;" the real truth being that, for half the year, it is almost unbearably hot, far hotter than the greatest extreme of summer in the British Isles; and this applies in a large degree not only to European Russia but to Siberia. The winter cold is hardly greater than in Southern Germany or Austria, especially among the mountains of Carinthia and Styria, while Hungary, the garden of Europe for productivity and richness of soil, is subject to frosts quite as likely to congeal anybody's breath, twenty and thirty degrees below zero on the centigrade scale, being quite common in winter. The whole of Europe, once we get away from the seaboard with its warm currents and moist winds, is subject to pretty much the same temperature in summer and winter,—that is, to the extreme heat and cold of a continental climate. It must also be remembered that "the Bay of St. Nicholas, where they first put in, lieth in sixty-four degrees," being in fact, just South of the Arctic Circle, while by far the greater part of European Russia, and of Siberia, too, for the matter of that, lies between the same parallels as Great Britain, St. Petersburg being actually to the south of the Shetland islands. Our maps, especially those on Mercator's projection, enormously exaggerate the area of the more northern regions, and thus show great expanses within or just under the Arctic Circle, where, in reality, are only tracts of quite limited extent. An amusing example of this is the huge extent given to Greenland, which is sometimes shown as larger than South America or Africa, whereas, in reality, it would make but an insignificant province in either of them. The same exaggeration in perspective, applied to the northern parts of Russia, has helped the belief that "it is cold" in that vast empire, a belief engendered by the fact that the first Englishmen arrived in the Tsars' dominions by way of the Arctic ocean, almost by way of the North Pole. If one were invariably to approach Great Britain by way of the Faroe Isles, it could not but affect our conception of the British climate.

Of the Bay of St. Nicholas Milton gives a very graphic picture, many details of which should have helped to modify the superstition alluded to. The bay "is called so from the abbey there built of wood, wherein are twenty monks, unlearned, as then they found them, and great drunkards: their Church is fair, full of images and tapers. There are, besides, but six houses, whereof one built by the English. In the bay over against the abbey is Rose Island, full of damask and red roses, violets, and wild rosemary;

the isle is in circuit seven or eight miles ; about the midst of May, the snow there is cleared, having two months been melting ; then the ground in fourteen days is dry, and grass knee-deep within a month." This, be it remembered, on the shore of the Arctic Sea. The descriptive geographer might have added many details to his list of flowers ; the characteristic flora of northern Russia approximates in many things to that of the Alps, as, indeed, does the sudden growth of rich, luscious grass after the melting of the snow ; for it is just from these lofty upland meadows that grow green in the track of the retreating snow that all the best cheese of Switzerland and the Austrian Alps has come for centuries. Very common in the extreme north of Russia are two Alpine flowers, blue squills and hepatica ; indeed, the latter are sold in enormous quantities in the streets of St Petersburg, as violets, and the Alpine peasants also call them "false violets," when they spring up in purple waterfalls among the rocks in March.

Among much that is familiar and more accurately known now-a-days, as to the topography of Russia, Milton gives a few vivid and imaginative touches of description, such as this : "The river Dwina, beginning about seven hundred miles within the country, falls here into the sea, very swift and shallow. It runneth pleasantly between hills on either side ; beset like a wilderness with high fir and other trees ;" or this concerning the other great northern river : "The river Pechora, or Petzora, holding his course through Siberia, how far the Russians thereabouts know not, runneth into the sea at seventy-two mouths, full of ice ; abounding with swans, ducks, geese, and partridge, which they take in July, sell the feathers, and salt the bodies for winter provision." And very quaint is the following, at the end of a very learned and accurate discussion of the courses of the northern rivers : "Touching the Riphœan mountains, whence Tanais was anciently thought to spring, our men could hear nothing, but rather that the whole country is champaign, and in the northernmost part huge and desert woods of fir, abounding with black wolves, bears, buffs, and another beast called Rossomakka, whose female bringeth forth by passing through some narrow place, as between two stakes, and so presseth her womb to a disburdening." The 'buffs' are apparently buffaloes ; the beast called rossomakka, or, more strictly, rossomakha, is authentic enough, and its name good Russian and current to the present day ; yet we cannot but think that the curious piece of tokology which Milton presents to his readers in connection with it, is not less mythological than the Riphæan mountains. "Travelling southward" from the land of that strange beast rossomakka, which, being rendered into English, is glutton, "they found the

country more pleasant, fair, and better inhabited, corn, pasture, meadows, and huge woods." Here Milton strikes a note which rings true to-day. In travelling through Russia one is greatly struck with the sparseness of its population; one seems to travel a score of versts—"or little miles." to follow Milton,—through the richest and most beautiful country without coming across a living being; and that with the population of Russia at a hundred millions, so much room is there still in the Tsar's dominions. In Turgenieff's stories, one gets the same sense of vast uninhabited spaces, such as we should have to go to the mountains of Norway to find the like of, but with the difference that the land in Russia is of splendid fertility. Going by rail from the German frontier to either Petersburg or Moscow, one traverses dense virgin forests for hour after hour, where, to judge by the richness of the undergrowth, the soil must be of great fertility. Even now, almost three hundred years after Milton wrote, vast spaces, even in European Russia, are practically a wilderness. Here is a picturesque vignette:—"Thence continuing by water to Wologda, a great city so named of the river which passes through the midst, it hath a castle walled about with brick and stone, and many wooden churches, two for every parish, the one in winter to be heated, the other used in summer; this is a town of much traffic, a thousand miles of St. Nicholas. All this way by water no lodging is to be had but under the open sky by the riverside, and other provision only what they bring with them." Even at the present day, a large scale map of Russia shows only half a dozen settlements along the river, big villages or little towns, so that the condition of travel is not greatly different; or was not, until quite recently, when small steamboats began to ply on the river Dwina from Volagda to Archangelsk. "From Wologda," Milton continues, "by sled they go to Yeraslave on the Volga, whose breadth is there at least a mile over, and thence runs two thousand seven hundred versts to the Caspian Sea, having his head spring out of Bealozera, which is a lake, amidst whereof is built a strong tower, wherein the Kings of Moscovy reserve their treasure in time of war. From this town to Rostove, then to Pereslave, a great town situate on a fair lake, thence to Mosco. All of which information is perfectly authentic and reliable, with the exception of a few details. Now-a-days, for instance, one goes from Volgoda to Yaroslavl by railway; the line goes through Rostov, but slightly to the east of Pereslavl, to Moscow, or, to be quite accurate, Moskwa. We take the names from a Russian atlas, transcribing them letter for letter, to show how extremely accurate Milton's authorities were, and how carefully he used them. The name of the lake from which the Volga flows is Byelo Ozero, that

is, White Lake, and in Alexis Tolstoi's splendid Trilogy there is a splendid passage descriptive of John the Terrible's taking refuge there, in the very tower mentioned by Milton.

Approaching the old Russian capital, we have as little reason to accuse him or them of carelessness: "Between Yeraslave and Mosco, which is two hundred miles, the country is so fertile, so populous and full of villages, that in a forenoon seven or eight hundred sleds are usually seen coming with salt-fish, or laden back with corn. Moscow, the chief city, lying in fifty-five degrees"—the latitude of Moscow is more nearly fifty-six, almost on the same parallel as Copenhagen and Edinburgh—, "distant from St. Nicholas fifteen hundred miles, is reputed to be greater than London with the suburbs, but rudely built; their houses and churches most of timber, few of stone, their streets unpaved; it hath a fair castle, four-square upon a hill, two miles about, with brick walls very high, and some say eighteen foot thick, sixteen gates, and as many bulwarks; in the castle are kept the chief markets, and in winter on the river, being then firm ice. This river Moscua on the south-west side encloses the castle, wherein are nine fair churches with round gilded towers, and the Emperor's palace." The said "castle in the midst of the city" is the famous Kremlin, which shows to-day no traces whatever of the disaster of 1812; most of the churches and palaces looking exactly as they were in the sixteenth century, seeming even then "of old fashion, with small windows, some of glass, some with lattices, or iron bars." One could hardly quote, even from quite modern writers, and in this year, which has seen a swarm of newspaper correspondents in Russia, a more faithful and lucid description of the Kremlin, with its walls and towers and golden domes, its churches and palaces. It is rather a citadel than a castle; being, in fact, the ancient walled city, round which the modern city has grown. Both the river and the capital itself are called Moskwa, there being in Russian no difference between the two names such as Milton makes between Mosco and Moscua.

We need not follow in detail the route, very accurately described, from Moscow to the Caspian. It will be noted that all his geography is in the form of itineraries—as though he were constructing plans of personally conducted tours. One or two details, however, are worth noting. While Milton quotes quite accurately the names of the rivers—Occa, Cama, and Volga—he is not always so happy in the case of the towns; thus Nijni—that is, lower—Novgorod, is transformed into Nysnovogrod, the seat of the great annual fair, and, this year, of the Russian universal exhibition. Further, "Rezan, a famous city now ruinate" has renewed its youth; while the Tartar and Siberian tribes—alluded to in the

following note, "from Cazan to the river Cama, falling into Volga from the province of Permia, the people dwelling on the left side are Gentiles, and live in woods without houses"—are now comparatively tame, though many of them are "Gentiles," that is, non-Christians, still. This description, with a few words altered, might fit Astrakhan to-day: "the town is situate in an island on a hill-side walled with earth, but the castle with earth and timber; the houses, except that of the Governor, and some few others, poor and simple; the ground utterly barren and without wood: they live there on fish and sturgeon especially; which hanging up to-day in the street and houses brings whole swarms of flies, and infection to the air, and oft great pestilence. This island, in length twelve leagues, three in breadth, is the Russian limit towards the Caspian, which he keeps with a strong garrison, being twenty leagues from that sea, into which Volga falls at seventy mouths." Now-a-days, there is no Russian limit towards the Caspian, nor anywhere in that direction, short of Northern Persia; and Astrakhan, though still fishy, is a city with eighty thousand inhabitants, the chief aims of whose lives are caviar and herrings, which, like the seals and seagulls, increase and multiply in the salt Caspian waves.

Another of the itineraries which make up Milton's geographical lore is from the White Sea to Novgorod, with Kieff and Moscow, one of the famous triad of old Russian capitals. By the way, the Lakes Ladoga and Onega are touched on, the former being, at first sight, somewhat grotesquely named Ladiscay, which is really almost correct, however, being the adjectival form Ladojski, the Ladogan lake. The same grammatical reason has led Milton to call the river Volkhoff by the queerly sounding name Volhusky, which is also adjectival.

Certain political and legal details follow, such as this: "The Emperor exerciseth absolute power." It is noteworthy that Milton, like Shakespeare, in the *Winter's Tale*, calls the ruler of Russia Emperor, though in reality this is anachronistic as, Peter the Great first formally took the title of Imperator. Here is a very interesting historical vignette of the Russian army at the end of the sixteenth century: "The Russian armeth not less in time of war than three hundred thousand men, half of whom he takes with him into the field, the rest he stows in garrisons on the borders. He presseth no husbandman or merchant but the youth of the realm. He useth no foot, but such as are pioneers, or gunners, of both which sort thirty thousand. The rest, being horsemen, are all archers, and ride with a short stirrup, after the Turkish. Their armour is a coat of plate, and a skull on their heads. Some of their coats are covered with velvet, or cloth of gold; for they desire to be gorgeous

in arms, but the Duke himself above measure ; his pavilion covered with cloth of gold or silver, set with precious stones. They use little drums, at the saddle bow, instead of spurs, for at the sound thereof the horses run most swiftly. They fight without order ; nor willingly give battle, but by stealth and ambush. Of cold and hard diet marvellously patient, for when the ground is covered with snow frozen a yard thick, the common soldier will lie in the field two months together without tent, or covering over head ; only hangs up his mantle against that part from whence the weather drives, and kindling a little fire, lies him down before it, with his back under the wind : his drink, the cold stream mingled with oatmeal, and the same all his food : his horse, fed with green wood and bark, stands all this while in the open field, yet does his service. The Emperor gives no pay at all, but to strangers ; yet repays good desserts in war with certain lands during life ; and they who oftenest are sent to the wars, think themselves most favoured, though serving without wages. In December yearly, the Emperor rides into the field, which is without the city, with all his nobility, on jennets and Turkey horses in great state ; the ordnance, which they have very fair of all sorts, they plant against two wooden houses filled with earth at least thirty foot thick, and beginning with the smallest, shoot them all off thrice over, having beat those two houses flat. Above the rest six great cannon they have, whose bullet is a yard high, so that a man may see it flying : then out of mortar-pieces they shoot wild-fire into the air. Thus the Emperor having seen what his gunners can do, returns home in the same order."

It is quite clear that no particular hardship is involved in sending such lovers of snow and ice to Siberia, however eloquently some of the tenderer exiles may lament their woes. The rigorous temper of the Russian army is the same now as then, and ordnance also they have very fair of all sorts, but now, on a war footing, the army musters two millions. Milton follows the passage we have quoted with a description of the Orthodox Faith, which contains some true things, some false, many amusing. It is interesting to find here already developed the scarce concealed jealousy and dislike of Russia which England has exhibited on many an occasion since. He says, for instance, that the Russians "hold the ten commandments not to concern them, saying that God gave them under the law, which Christ, by his death on the cross, hath abrogated," which distinctly gives a false colouring to a true fact. For it is true that Russian believers—and this practically embraces the whole nation—do hold the Mosaic law in slight esteem ; and have long recognised—what all critics now clearly see—that there is a narrow vindictiveness in much of the Old Testament

theology, quite out of harmony with the message of the New But in saying this, there is no real need to insinuate that Russians feel themselves free to steal, to kill, to bear false witness. "During Easter holy days when two friends meet, they take each other by the hand ; one of them saying, ' The Lord is risen ' ; the other answering, ' It is so of a truth ' ; and then they kiss, whether men or women." This is exactly the custom of the present day, and the greetings are correctly rendered. A Russian told us a story of a German—in most Russian stories, the butt is a German, just as in Austrian stories he is a Hungarian,—a story the irreverence of which may in part be pardoned for its wit. The German, imperfectly acquainted with the custom, and somewhat merry, as befitted the festive season, replied to the first greeting with an interested, though not quite intelligent, query : ' When ? ' The Russian, somewhat taken aback, responded ' To-day ! ' When the German, evidently gratified and pleased, exclaimed, ' Bravo ! ' Perhaps some such tale as this lent colour to Milton's assertion that ' the Muscovites that border on Tartaria are yet pagans.'

What follows is perhaps the most humorous paragraph in all Milton's writings : " When there is love between two, the man, among other trifling gifts, sends to the woman a whip, to signify, if she offend, what she must expect ; and it is a rule among them, that if the wife be not beaten once a week, she thinks herself not beloved and is the worse ; yet they are very obedient, and stir not forth, but at some seasons. Upon utter dislike, the husband divorces ; which liberty no doubt they received first with their religion from the Greek Church, and the Imperial laws." This little sermon should be read in connexion with Milton's own matrimonial experiences, in the light of two books whose titles are *Tetrachordon* and *Colasterion*, to say nothing of tracts like *The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce restored to the good of both Sexes*, and *The Judgement of Martin Bucer concerning Divorce*. It is too well-known to need repetition, that Milton's view on divorce did not remain wholly theoretical.

ART. III.—ROME, BY EMILE ZOLA.

Rome :—By Emile Zola. "*Les Trois Villes*" Series.
40th thousand. Paris, 1896.

"THE PAPACY," said the historian Freeman, "is the ghost of the Roman Empire, seated upon the tomb thereof;" and M. Zola's new book on Rome is nothing more or less than an expansion and elucidation of this pithy saying. It was not Christianity that conquered the Roman world in the fourth century after the coming of Christ; it was the Roman world that conquered Christianity, as M. Renan has ably pointed out. Rome, shorn of her physical dominion by the transfer of the seat of Empire to Constantinople, and by the victorious incursions of the barbarians, shifted her ground and grasped at spiritual dominion. Her Christian Bishop was enthroned in the seat of the Pontifex Maximus; the doctrine of Christ was transformed into the law of Cæsar; the very rites and symbols of Paganism were incorporated with the Christian worship. Papal Rome claimed the same rights over the consciences of the peoples of the West of Europe as Imperial Rome had claimed over their actions.

"Rome" is a continuation of M. Zola's last book, "Lourdes;" but the canvas is not so crowded with portraits, or the narrative so connected, as in the former inimitable work. The present volume recounts the adventures of the Abbé Pierre Froment, who had returned from Lourdes with his faith in miracle and dogma shattered to fragments, in search of a new Religion; his journey to Rome in pursuit of his quest; what he saw and heard there, and the conclusions he drew therefrom.

The Abbé had returned from his pilgrimage to the shrine at Lourdes with his faith destroyed and his illusions dispelled; a faithless priest, safe-guarding the faith of others, determined to devote the rest of his life to the service of suffering humanity, as the only acceptable form of sacrifice. And in Paris he makes the acquaintance of a good priest, the Abbé Rose, a kind of Catholic Dr. Barnardo, who had opened a home for orphan and destitute children. Pierre Froment began to aid in this good work and soon became engrossed in "slumming." His Christian sympathy and righteous wrath were stirred by the sight of the misery and degradation of the poor in the rookeries of Paris; men starving for want of work; whole families slowly famishing; mothers driven to murdering their children, to put them out of their misery, in the midst of Paris rolling in riches, wallowing in unimaginable wealth and

luxury ! It must come to an end ; this state of things could not last ; already were heard the rumblings and mutterings of the coming storm, Communism, Socialism, Anarchism, Nihilism, which were to sweep away the old rotten framework of Society under which such things were possible ; to purify the world in blood and fire.

And Pierre Froment became a Christian Socialist ; joined the band of dreamers who fondly imagine, with Count Tolstoi, that the Light that failed eighteen hundred years ago can be rekindled to-day. And in his feverish enthusiasm he sits down to write a book in which he advocates the employment of the existing machinery of the Catholic Church to effect a Social revolution, to re-establish universally the Christian communities of the Apostolic times. Like Mr. Stead, he would utilise the Pope as the acknowledged Head of the largest section of Christianity ; would confide to his guidance the direction of the new movement. Like Tolstoi, and with equal eloquence and sincerity, he advocates a return to the teaching of Christ, peace and fellowship, a community of goods, a community of labours. And he finds the tone and sentiments of the speeches and writings of Pope Leo XIII favourable to his ideas ; draws upon them largely ; quotes the Pontifical authority, and entitles his book "La Rome Nouvelle." The publication of the book makes some noise in Paris, Pierre's Socialist friends warmly approve it, among others the Viscount Philibert de la Choue, a nobleman who was at the head of a Catholic Socialist party in the French Chamber, and who had already lost half of his fortune by his experiments in phalansteries, social colonies, Christian clubs, and the like enterprises, which had been more successful from a philanthropic, than from a financial, point of view. The Archbishop Monsignor Bergerot was so pleased with the scheme of the book, that he wrote a flattering letter to the Abbé Froment to serve as an introduction, which was published as a preface to the work. Perhaps it was this preface that attracted the attention of the congregation of the Index, for Monsignor Bergerot's liberal principles and professions were not held in high favour at the Vatican. Anyhow, the Abbé Pierre Froment is one day surprised to learn that his book, which he fondly believed himself to have written in the best interests of Religion and Catholicism, is about to be cited before the Congregation of the Index ; perhaps condemned : and he undertakes a journey to Rome in order to defend its conclusions and explain its arguments, happy in the idea of being able to ventilate and agitate the opinions which so enthusiastically possess him. In his book he had endeavoured to show that an economic question had always underlain the

religious question ; that, under the Jewish dispensation, the Prophets denounced wealth and luxury as hateful to the justice of God ; that Christ preached a social revolution, the renunciation of wealth, the accumulation of which was the object of Pagan Society ; that the early Christians were true Communists ; that the Christian community long existed in the Monasteries of the Middle Ages, until they, too, became corrupted by wealth and luxury, as the body of the Church itself had been corrupted ; that now was the accepted time, now was the day of Salvation, when the people in their blindness were groping after Socialism, crying out for Communism ; the time for the Church to free herself from the bondage of law and custom, to proclaim the reign of justice and righteousness, to inaugurate upon earth the kingdom of God of which Christ spake. So Pierre set his face towards the Eternal City. His friend, the Vicomte Philibert de la Choue, had furnished him with an introduction to the princely Roman family of Boccanera, and an invitation had arrived from them, entreating the Abbé Froment to accept the hospitality of their palace during his stay in Rome. Pierre gladly accepts it, the more readily as the head of the Boccanera family was a Cardinal, a high official of the Vatican, who might, perhaps, aid him in his campaign in defence of his book and the ideas it contained. He arrives in Rome on a lovely summer morning ; finds the splendid old city bathed in sunshine, rejoicing in its beauty and splendour, and, as he surveys the magnificent view from the terrace of San Pietro in Montorio, he hails *La Rome Nouvelle* of his impassioned dream. He is warmly welcomed by his country woman, Victorine, the French housekeeper at the Palace Boccanera in the Via Giulia, who ruled over a slender household indeed in the great bare empty-looking marble Palace, which struck a chill to the heart of Pierre with its cold and crumbling stateliness ; for the fortunes of the Boccanera had fallen with the falling fortunes of the Church in Rome. It had been very different in former times.

" A newly appointed Cardinal held receptions ; gave public entertainments, some of which are to this day remembered in history for their surpassing splendour. During three days the palatial state rooms were thrown open to the public, and from hall to hall the chamberlains proclaimed the names and titles of princes, nobles, merchants, men of all grades and stations from the highest to the humblest, all flocking to pay their respects to the newly-appointed Eminence, who accepted it like a King receiving the homage of his subjects. And the establishment was throughout on a scale of truly royal magnificence ; there were Cardinals with a retinue of five hundred

dependants, a household organised in sixteen different departments, an audience-chamber with all the etiquette and ceremonial of a Court. Even in later times, when the life of States and Courts had become more sober and simple, the equipage of a Cardinal comprised four state carriages, drawn by teams of black horses, and preceded by outriders. Four attendants in livery carried the insignia of his rank—the hat, the cushions, and the umbrella. He was accompanied by his Secretary in a violet silken robe, his *caudataire* wearing the "*Croccia*," his chamberlain in old fashioned Court-dress of the Medici period, bearing the *barretta* in his gauntleted hands. Though already shorn of its ancient state, the household still comprised the auditor, the secretary, the chamberlain, the gentleman-usher, the *caudataire*, the chaplain, the steward, and the valet, without reckoning the crowd of lackeys, cooks, coachmen, grooms—a host of servants who filled the palace and its environs with bustle and noise.

And Pierre, in his mind's eye, saw the three vast anti-chambers again filled with people, thronged with footmen in embroidered liveries with armorial bearings, crowded with prelates and priests in silken robes of harmonious hues, bringing life and light once more into the now dusky and desert halls.

But in these evil days, and more than ever since the entry of the Italian army into Rome, the fortunes of the Roman princes had fallen, and the stately splendour of the chiefs of the Church had disappeared. The scions of the ruined aristocracy no longer looked for prizes in an ecclesiastical career, and abandoned its poorly remunerated and lightly-esteemed offices to the ambition of the youth of a lower social standing. The Cardinal Boccanera, the sole remaining princely wearer of the priestly purple, had an annual income of little more than twelve hundred pounds sterling to maintain his state, including his emoluments as Cardinal; and he would have been totally unable to make both ends meet, but for the assistance which his sister, Donna Serafina, was able, from time to time, to afford from the remnant of the family fortune, his share of which, in more prosperous times, the Cardinal had abandoned in her favour and in that of his other sisters and his brother. Donna Serafina and her niece, Benedetta, lived apart in the palace, with their own *suite* of apartments, their separate table, their separate servants. The Cardinal had only his nephew, Dario, living with him, and never gave a dinner-party, or held a reception. His only heavy expense was the keep of his only carriage, the heavy coach and pair which was a necessary in his position, for custom forbids a Cardinal to go on foot in the streets of Rome.

And his coachman, a faithful old family servant, saved him

even the expense of a groom, himself doing the whole of the stable work, cleaning the carriage and grooming the two black horses, grown old like himself in the service of the family. There were two footmen, a father and son, the latter born in the palace. The wife of the cook helped in the kitchen. But the reductions in the state of the establishment were still more remarkable in the ante-chambers of the state apartments; the brilliant and numerous *suite* that once had filled them, now resolved into two petty priests; Don Vigili, the Secretary, who also filled the functions of Auditor and Major-domo; and the Abbé Paparelli, the *caudataire*, or train-bearer, who at the same time performed the offices of Chaplain and Chamberlain. In the halls which the crowd of liveried lackeys had filled with glittering gaiety, the visitor now saw only these two rusty black cassocks gliding along the tapestried walls, like two ghostly shadows of the past, presently to be lost in the gathering gloom."

At the weekly reception held in the saloon of Donna Serafina, the French Abbé is introduced to the *élite* of the "*Monde Noir*" of Rome, the Black, or Papal, world of Roman society, so-called in contradistinction to the White society that clustered round the Royal Palace of the Quirinal. Here he meets many of the pillars of the Vatican; the courtly Monsignor Nani, the Assessor of the Holy Offices, smooth and gracious, a drawing-room diplomatist and a practised politician, with his courtly condescension and faint ironical smile; said to be the most powerful man at the Papal Court, possessing the ear of its ruler, but keeping his influence always behind the scenes, and deprecatingly alluding to its insignificance; Cardinal Sarno, Secretary of the Propaganda, who had never been out of Rome in his life, and who directed the Catholic Mission scattered through the four quarters of the world; a shrivelled up, mummified little old man, bent with long labour at an office desk, with the habits of an old scribbling hack, seeming always half asleep, but carrying a library of clearly-arranged statistics, and the map of the whole world, even of its most unfamiliar regions, inside his narrow head; Cardinal Sanguinetti, stout, rubicund, and boisterous, always fussing and bustling, who had made his way almost to the top of the tree by his restless energy and domineering spirit, and who hoped to rise higher yet: Cardinal Boccanera himself, stately and taciturn, petrified in his princely and priestly pride, in his old-fashioned politics and old-world ideas; his sister, Donna Serafina, his duplicate in petticoats; their charming and candid niece, Benedetta, married by her parents to the Count Prada, son to an old Garibaldian and a young courtier of the King's; a political

marriage, "marrying the Pope and the King," as it was called, but turning out a miserable *fiasco*, Benedetta being already in love with her cousin, Dario, and detesting her husband. After the death of her parents she had separated from him, and taken refuge in the old family palace under the wing of her aged uncle and aunt, heedless of the scandal she caused by living under the same roof with her early lover, her cousin, Dario.

She was at this time engaged in suing for a divorce from her husband, a difficult and delicate matter in a society living under the shadow of the Vatican, which unutterably maintains the religious sanctity of the marriage tie. The history of this divorce suit forms one of those unpleasant episodes which are unfortunately too common in M. Zola's works.

Pierre is introduced to the expectant Dario, the last hope of the race of the Boccaneras, a weak and amiable youth, living a frivolous and aimless life, restrained from sinking into dissipation only by his redeeming love for Benedetta; and in the Boccanera Salon he also makes the acquaintance of the pretty little princess, Celia Buongiovanni, daughter and heiress of one of the most ancient noble houses of Papal Rome, but in love with the handsome *parvenu* young Italian officer, Attilio Sacco, cousin of Count Prada.

And the Abbé Pierre Froment makes other acquaintances, outside the Papal circle of society. The old Count Orlando Prada, the father-in-law of Benedetta, profoundly moved by the perusal of Pierre's book, seeks an interview with the author: and Pierre shares Benedetta's affection and admiration for the grand old companion of Garibaldi's campaigns and aspirations, brave as a lion and simple as a child. In his company he meets the son, Benedetta's nominal husband, in whose veins the chivalrous folly of the father has turned to a mania for gambling speculation. The son has made and again lost fortunes, while the old and crippled father lives in Spartan simplicity, refusing to accept the wealth which his adoring son would willingly lavish upon him.

And as Pierre finds that things are not done in a hurry at Rome, and that the fate of his book is likely to be long in the balance, he sets himself, in the intervals of his campaign in its favour, to see the sights of the City. He has the good fortune to meet again, in the Boccanera Salon, an old Paris friend of his youth, M. Narcisse Habert, *attaché* to the French Legation at the Papal Court, a dandy of the Boulevards, hiding his keen aptitude for business under the mask of a cynical man of the world and æsthetic *dilettante*. He "knows the ropes" well, and shows Pierre round the art-treasures and ancient

ruins of Rome, while he lets him into the secrets of Papal politics and Italian finances.

What the young and enthusiastic Abbé sees and hears under his experienced guidance, soon considerably modifies his preconceived ideas of Rome. After a long and fatiguing day spent in the Vatican and among its art-treasures, the author thus summarises the impressions of the young priest :

"Suddenly occurred to him the striking idea, that the religion which sprang up in this soil of light and love had been only a religion of temporal conquest and political domination, so different from the mystical and sympathetic religion of the lands of the North, in whose cold and gloom was born the Religion of the Soul.

* * * *

His eyes again rested upon the Gate of Bronze, and he remembered how, in the morning, he had wondered what he might find behind those brazen barriers studded with monstrous nails. And he dared not then reply to the question of his own thought ; he could not know whether the new generations, hungering for justice and righteousness, would find behind those gates the religion imperatively demanded by the Democracies of the morrow ; for his first impressions were vague and undefined.

But how vivid was the impression now forced upon his mind, and how disastrous the awakening from his impassioned dream ! A Gate of Bronze, indeed, impassable, impenetrable, shutting up the Vatican within its antique portals, separating it from the outside world so solidly, so absolutely, that for three centuries and more no one and nothing had entered in. Behind that gate was the sixteenth century, the old centuries before the sixteenth, impassable, immoveable. Time itself had there ceased to fly, remained stationary, motionless for ever. Nothing within those portals ever changed ; the very dresses of the Swiss Guards, of the Noble Guards, of the Prelates, of the priests, remained as they were three hundred years ago ; the same costumes, the same ceremonial, the same ideas. True, for the last quarter of a century, the Popes in their proud attitude of protestation against the infringement of their sovereign rights, had voluntarily imprisoned themselves in their Vatican ; but the imprisonment was really of much older date, and of much more cruel severity : an imprisonment that had finally enclosed the whole system of Catholicism, shutting it up within an encircling wall of dogma, condemning it to a living death, only saved from succumbing by the support of its vast and complex hierarchical organisation. Was it true, then, that Catholicism, in spite of its apparent universality, could not yield on a single point, without danger of being swept away alto-

gether? And, then, behind those gates, what a world of pride, of ambition, of hatred and of strife! And what strange fellow-prisoners in this strange prison; Christ in company of Jupiter Capitolinus; all the gods of Olympus cheek by jowl with the Apostles; all the splendours of the Renaissance smothering the humility of the Gospel! The rays of the setting sun gilded the pillars of St. Peter's; the soft tranquillity of the Roman evening reigned in the clear blue sky, and the young priest remained dismayed and distracted after his long day in the company of Michael Angelo and Raphael, Popes and Cæsars, Heathen gods and Christian Saints, in the most famous palace in the world." He begins to lose faith in his mission and hope of the escape of his book from the fate that threatens it. He is wearied by the delays and difficulties that he encounters on all hands; by fruitless journeys to and fro; by false hopes held out to him; by affectation of assumed interest, covering indifference, or hiding hostility. His stay at Rome is protracted from days to weeks, and from weeks to months. He visits all the churches, the museums, the ruins; the desert new quarters which were built to accommodate an influx of population that never arrived; the crowded old quarters where the poorest of the people swarm in poverty and filth, starving and merry withal, wrapping themselves in their rags and in the pride of their Roman birth.

His desired interview with the Pope was prevented and postponed till it seemed impossible of attainment. He saw Leo XIII three times; once taking his evening stroll in the gardens of the Vatican, on the day when Pierre was conducted over the the palace by his guide, philosopher and friend, Narcisse Habert; once in the palace, during a reception of the French pilgrimage, bringing the welcome tribute of Peter's pence; and the adoration of the excited crowds, women fainting, falling at the feet of His Holiness, grovelling in the dust before his august presence, struck Pierre as savouring of idolatry.

A third time he saw the Pope in state, on the occasion of a Papal Mass at St. Peter's, and was furnished with tickets for an advantageous place whence to view the spectacle, by the kind attention of the assiduous Monsignor Nani, who is always at hand to counsel and assist him. And in the splendid and spacious Basilica, thronged with eager crowds, Pierre sees the Pope make his triumphal entry. "It was the Papal cortège in all its ancient pomp, the crucifix and the sword, the Swiss Guard in their gala dress of the sixteenth century, footmen in scarlet liveries, cloaked and sworded chevaliers in Tudor costume, canons in surplices of costly lace, heads of the religious orders, apostolic proto-notaries, archbishops and bishops in violet silk, cardinals in purple, all solemnly marching two

and two with wide-spaced intervals between their files. After them, and preceding His Holiness, came the officers of the Military Household, the Prelates of the Privy Chamber, Monsignor the Major domo, Monsignor the Grand Chamberlain, all the high officials of the Vatican Court, and the Roman Prince attached to the Papal throne as the traditional and symbolical defender of the rights of the Church. High upon his chair of state, borne on the shoulders of bearers, dressed in scarlet and silk-embroidered tunics, and shaded by the lofty feather fans held aloft by the *flabelli*, sat His Holiness, wearing the sacred vestments with which he had just been indued in the Chapel of the Holy Sacrament, the amice, the alb, the stole, the white and gold mitre and chasuble, two gifts presented but recently by the faithful in France, of unparalleled magnificence. And again, as in a theatre, the applause was redoubled; hands were clapped furiously, strenuously, as if a popular actor had come upon the stage, a star whose appearance made all hearts beat with hope and expectation, and Pierre now received a different impression of Leo the Thirteenth. He was no longer the simple old man, listening, in his lassitude, to the gossip of the prelate on whose arm he leaned, as he paced leisurely along the walks of the most glorious garden in the world. Nor was he the Holy Father in crimson cape and pontifical cap benignly greeting the foreign pilgrims who came to him laden with the treasure collected from the faithful in foreign lands. He was here the sovereign Pontiff, the omnipotent Lord, the God whom Christendom adored. The frail body in its long white robe, stiff with gold embroidery, looked like a waxen image in a gilded shrine; and, in its high and haughty immobility, it reminded the spectator of some graven golden idol, parched in the perpetual smoke of sacrifices, through countless centuries. The eyes alone lived in the deathly pallor of the rigid face—eyes sparkling like black diamonds, with their keen gaze looking far beyond and above the world around, peering into the Infinite.

They had no look for the surrounding crowds; they turned neither to right nor to left, remaining fixed on the upper air, unconscious apparently of what was passing at their Master's feet. And this statuesque idol, thus borne aloft above the people like a mummy, deaf and blind, in spite of the brilliancy of its eyes, unconscious of the frenzied adoration of the surrounding crowd, seemed clothed with an awful Majesty, robed with a fearful power, invested with all the rigidity of dogma, imbued with all the immobility of tradition, kept upright and erect only by the golden bands in which it was swathed. However, Pierre thought that he perceived the Pope, under this apparent immobility, to be suffering from

fatigue or indisposition, doubtless the effect of the slight attack of fever of which Monsignor Nani had spoken to him the evening before, when he dwelt on the devoted courage, the steadfast soul of this old man of eighty-four years, kept alive by his own tenacity of purpose, by his faith in the sovereign necessity of his Mission.

The ceremony commenced. His Holiness, descending from his high-borne chair at the Altar of the Confession, leisurely celebrated a Low Mass, assisted by four Bishops and by the pro-prefect of the ceremonies. At the ablution Monsignor the Major domo and Monsignor the Grand Chamberlain, assisted by two Cardinals, poured the water upon the august hands of the celebrant; and, just before the elevation, all the prelates of the pontifical Court, with lighted candles in their hands, came to kneel before the altar. It was a solemn moment; the forty thousand of the faithful assembled there trembled; felt as if a breath from the Invisible was passing over them, while the silver trumpets sounded, during the elevation, the clarion "chorus of the Angels," and women fainted from ecstasy and excitement. Immediately sweet responsive strains of unearthly music were wafted downwards from the vault of the huge dome, in the upper gallery of which a hundred and twenty choristers were hidden away. It was a marvel, a miracle, as if the angelic choirs had in reality responded to the challenge of the silver trumpets. The strains descended, re-echoed through the vaulted aisles, like the resounding strings of celestial harps; then gradually died away and rose again, as if remounting to the skies with the flutter of angelic wings. After the Mass, His Holiness, still standing at the altar, himself intoned the *Te Deum*, which was taken up by the precentors of the Sixtine Chapel and the choirs, each chanting a verse alternately. But soon the whole immense congregation joined in; forty thousand voices were lifted up; the shout of joy and triumph swelled through all the vast edifice; filled it with reverberating waves of sound.

The spectacle at this moment was truly one of incomparable splendour—the altar surmounted with its carved and gilded baldaquin, surrounded by the Papal hierarchy which the lighted tapers studded as if with starry constellations; the sovereign Pontiff in the centre, blazing like a sun in his golden chasuble, encircled by rows of Cardinals in crimson, benches of Bishops in violet, tribunes filled with the court dresses of officials, the embroideries of Ambassadors, the uniforms of officers of all nations and armies, the crowds showing a compact mass of human heads receding into the dim distance in the furthest aisles of the enormous edifice, the glorious Basilica

which crushed the on-looker with astonishment at its gigantic proportions, its side-aisles in one of which a whole parish might be harboured, its transepts as big as the cathedral of a capital city, its mighty nave which thousands and tens of thousands of worshippers could scarcely fill. And the sound of their chaunted hymn seemed to swell to the colossal proportions of the temple; rose with the voice of a mighty storm over the giant monuments of marble, among the super-human statues, around the cyclopean columns up to the vaulted roof, unrolling the illimitable expanse of a sky of stone into the blue heaven of the vast Dome, opening up glimpses of the Infinite in the golden glory of its magnificent mosaics."

At length, when Pierre is on the brink of losing all hope and patience, he learns from the ubiquitous Monsignor Nani that the congregation of the Index is on the point of condemning his book, but that its verdict will have to be confirmed by the Pope; and he promises to arrange a private reception of Pierre at the Vatican, where he may plead his cause before His Holiness in person. Accordingly, he directs the young Abbé to present himself at one of the gates of the Vatican at nine o'clock on a certain evening, and furnishes him with the pass words to admit him to the Presence. Pierre enters the gates of bronze, passes up wide staircases, along endless corridors, past silent sentinels of the Swiss Guards and Papal gendarmes, through suites of splendid and now darkened halls; the whole palace in gloom and silence, feebly illuminated by dim and distant lamps. The last Swiss Guard hands him over to a solemn functionary in black; and he has to wait, what seems an interminable time to him, in the ante-room, before he is finally ushered into the large room hung with yellow damask, tastefully but scantily furnished, where His Holiness sits in a deep arm-chair beside a little table, on which are a glass of lemonade, a reading lamp, and two or three French and Italian newspapers. The Pope looked frail and small, clad in white robes and skull cap, the only colour in his dress being the golden fringe to his girdle, and the crimson velvet slippers embroidered with the badge of the golden cross-keys. The Abbé makes the three prescribed reverences (like the three taslims at the court of the Grand Mogul) and stoops to salute the velvet slipper of the Master of Christendom. And the Pope acknowledges his greeting affably, converses with him, questions him familiarly, and leaves it to him to introduce the subject of his visit, which Pierre at length finds himself hesitatingly compelled to do.

We give the rest of the interview in M. Zola's own words.

"Without replying, Leo the Thirteenth continued to gaze upon him with those piercing eyes. And Pierre no longer saw before

him Leo the Thirteenth, two hundred and sixty-third Pope, Vicar of Jesus Christ, successor of the Prince of the Apostles, sovereign Pontiff of the Universal Church, Patriarch of the West, Primate of Italy, Archbishop and Metropolitan of the Diocese of Rome, Lord of the temporal dominions of the Holy See. He saw Leo the Thirteenth of whom he had dreamed, the expected Messiah, the saviour sent to save the world from the frightful social catastrophe which threatens to engulf the old and rotten framework of our society and our civilisation. He pictured him with his keen and supple intellect, his fraternal sympathy, his overflowing love, seeking for means of conciliation, avoiding stumbling-blocks, going straight to the heart of the peoples, giving his life and his labour for the good cause—the cause of suffering Humanity. He fancied him as the supreme moral authority, the only hope of Truth and Peace, the All-Father who alone could equalise the fortunes of his children ; cause misery and poverty to cease among them ; free labour from its fetters ; bring back the people to the pure faith of the primitive Church, to the sweet simplicity of Christian Communism. And this lofty Presence, in the solemn silence of the room and the palace, was for him invested with invincible Omnipotence, with overwhelming Majesty.”

And Pierre pours out his soul to the idol of his imagination ; pleads the cause of the poor and needy ; prays the Pope to inaugurate a new crusade against war, wealth and luxury, to found a new Brotherhood of Labour and Love. In his excitement he forgets his book ; forgets everything but the intolerable, incurable sufferings of humanity. But the Pope recalls him to himself ; prays him to compose himself, and addresses him as follows :—

“You appeal to the Holy Father. Be assured that his heart is full of tenderness and compassion for the afflicted and the unhappy ones of the earth. But the question now before us is not that ; it is a question of Religion. I have read your book, and I will tell you at once that it is a bad book, a most dangerous and most damnable book ; and the more so because of its undoubted merits, its many fine passages which have stimulated my interest and excited my admiration. Yes, I confess I was interested in it ; I would not have gone on reading it, but that my interest was aroused by the spirit of faith and enthusiasm that you have breathed into its pages. The subject was a grand one, the New Rome ! Ah, what a book might be written with that for title ; but, my son, it must be written in a spirit totally different from yours. You think that you understand me, that you have grasped the meaning of my writings, that you have seized the spirit of my words and deeds, that you have

expressed my feelings in the words of your book. You are wrong ! you do not understand me, and that is why I wished to see you this evening, to explain and convince you of your error."

It was now Pierre's turn to listen, silent and motionless. He had come there prepared to defend his book ; he had arranged his arguments ; he had feverishly looked forward to this audience for the past three months, assured of its successful termination ; and now he listened to the condemnation of his book without adducing in its defence any one of the many arguments which had appeared to him irresistible. An overwhelming lassitude had taken possession of him, as if he had been exhausted by the violence of his emotion. Presently he would summon up courage ; he would say what he had come there to say. " They do not understand me ; they do not comprehend me," continued Leo the Thirteenth, with an air of impatient irritation. " Above all in France : it is incredible, the trouble that I have to make myself understood ! The Temporal Power, for instance ; how could you imagine that the Holy See could ever yield on that question ? It is a proposition unworthy of the utterance of a priest, it is a misunderstanding springing from ignorance of the conditions under which the Papacy has always existed, and must continue to exist, if it would not perish altogether.

Do you not see the sophistry of your assertion when you proclaim it the more powerful in the world in proportion as it is disengaged from the cares of worldly sovereignty ? Ah, a grand idea, a pure spiritual sovereignty, the reign of Faith and Love ! But how are you going to maintain it ? Who would give us a stone to pillow our head upon if we were to-morrow driven from house and home by our foes ? How could we be independent when we should be at everybody's mercy ? No, no ; this Rome is ours, our heritage devolved to us through the long line of our predecessors ; the soil on which our Holy Church is founded for all eternity ; and to abandon it would be the abandonment of the Holy Church Catholic, Apostolic and Roman. Besides we *cannot* abandon it ; we are bound to it by our vows before God and before man."

He paused for a moment, to allow time for Pierre to reply. But the latter could find no power of speech, for he all at once recognised that the Pope had spoken as he ought to speak ; that he could not speak otherwise. The confused ideas which had long been gathering in his mind, which had so troubled him while he was waiting a moment before in the private ante-chamber, now suddenly became clear to him, ranged themselves before his mind's eye with startling distinctness. All that he had seen, all that he had heard since his arrival at Rome, his dis-illusions, his discoveries, all combined to form

a mass of realities beneath the weight of which the airy fabric of his dream of a return to primitive Christianity was crushed and shattered. Suddenly there recurred to him his vision under the dome of St. Peter's, when, gazing on the ancient city wrapped in its glory of the imperial purple, he was imbecile enough to dream of a purely spiritual Pontiff reigning over the souls of men. That day he had fled from the frantic acclamations of the pilgrims of the St. Peter's Pence pilgrimage, hailing the "Pope-King." This need of pecuniary revenue, this last link in the chain of slavery which bound the spiritual Head of the Church to the World; he had perforce accepted its necessity. But when Rome had revealed her real self to him, the Eternal City of Pride and Power in which the Papacy had sat enthroned for ages, his illusions finally vanished. Everything combined to bind the fate of the Papacy to the fate of Rome; dogma, tradition, history, sentiment rooted it in the soil of Rome, immoveable for ever. The dream of a new Rome would never be realised, except some day, perhaps, far from the old Rome, under other skies. There Christianity might revive; but Catholicism must die where it had been born, where it had lived, when the last of the Popes, fettered to the ruins of Rome, should perish under the falling mass of St. Peter's dome, falling in its turn as the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus had fallen. As for this Pope before him to-day, discrowned and dethroned as he was, Pierre could clearly discern, through the fragile mask of senility, through the bloodless transparency of the waxen image of humanity, the fire of the lust of sway, the inherited passion of universal empire, the spirit of the Pontifex Maximus, of the Cæsar Imperator in whose veins flowed the blood of Augustus, the master of the world.

"You have clearly expressed," continued Leo the Thirteenth, "the ardent desire for Christian Unity which has always inspired us. We esteem ourselves most fortunate in having been able to introduce uniformity of ritual, in imposing the Roman rite upon the whole Catholic Church. That was one of our most signal successes; it cannot but enhance our authority. And I trust that our attempts to re-unite in Christ our dear brethren scattered throughout the dissident Churches of the East may be crowned with success; nor do I despair of convincing the Anglican sectaries, not to speak of the other Protestant communities, who will be forced to return to the fold of the one Universal Holy Catholic, Apostolic and Roman Church when the time predicted by Christ shall have arrived. But what you have omitted to say is that the Church can never surrender one single point of its doctrine. On the contrary, you seem to hint that a compromise may

be arrived at by means of mutual concessions ; and that is an erroneous conclusion, a proposition which is criminal coming from the mouth of a priest. No ; truth is absolute ; not one stone of the building can be changed. Oh ! as to the form of worship, that does not so much matter ! We are quite ready to make concessions to avoid certain difficulties, to mitigate formulas in order to conciliate certain prejudices. And, in the same way, the part we play in the Socialist movement of to-day needs explanation. Of a truth, those whom you have well named the disinherited of this world, are the objects of our sincerest sympathies. If socialism be simply a cry for justice, a desire to strengthen the weak, to comfort the afflicted, who is there that adheres to it, works for it with more energy than we ourselves ? Has not the Church always been the mother of the unfortunate, the stay of the wretched, the benefactress of the destitute ? We are all for rational progress ; we approve all the new forms of society which make for peace and fraternity. But we cannot help condemning the Socialism which would get rid of the idea of God in order to make men happy. That is a return to a state of simple savagery ; a deplorable retrogression, with its only possible consequences of catastrophes, conflagrations and massacres. And you have not dwelt on this with sufficient emphasis ; you have not taken enough pains to demonstrate that outside the pale of the Church there can be no real progress, that the Church is the sole directress, the sole guide to whom the people can have recourse with safety. Besides, and this is a serious fault that I find in you, you seem to put God on one side ; your religion seems to be nothing more than a mental state, an efflorescence of love and charity sufficient in itself for the soul's salvation. Execrable heresy ! God is always with us, Lord of our souls and of our bodies ; Religion is the bond which unites us to Him ; the Law given by Him for the government of mankind, without which there is nothing but barbarism in this world and damnation in the next. And, once more, the form is immaterial ; the doctrine is eternal. Thus our countenance of the Republic in France shows that we do not consider the supremacy of religion indissolubly connected with any form of government, however honourable and ancient. Dynasties can last only their appointed time ; God endureth for ever, Kings may die, and monarchies perish, but God is the Living God ! Besides, the republican form of government has nothing in it contrary to Christianity ; it seems to us rather a return towards the early Christian Community of which you have treated in some most charming passages in your book.

Unfortunately liberty is apt to degenerate into license, and we have too often been evilly recompensed for our attempts at

conciliation. Ah ! my son, what a mischievous book you have written, with, as I verily believe, the very best intentions ; and I am glad to think that your silence proves that you begin to understand the consequences of your fault."

Pierre remained silent, crushed, feeling that his intended arguments might as well be addressed to an impenetrable rock, whose blindness and deafness was impervious to light and sound. To what good purpose, since nothing could enter in ? He was preoccupied solely in wondering, in considering how it was possible that a man of so much intelligence, with so much ambition, had not arrived at a truer, clearer comprehension of the state and temper of the world to-day. He evidently thought himself well posted, well informed, carrying in his head the vast web of Christendom, with its hopes and fears, its needs and wishes, all clearly tabulated and marked out, interwoven with the complicated threads of his tangled diplomacy. But what *lacunæ* nevertheless ! Probably he really knew the world only as it was during the short time of his Nunciature at Brussels. Then came his episcopate at Perugia, where he should have seen something of the birth of the spirit which animated the new Italy. And for the last eighteen years he had been immured in the Vatican, seeing nothing of the world, isolated from the rest of mankind, communicating with them only through his courtiers, often the most ill-informed, most mendacious, and most treacherous of men. Moreover, he was an Italian, a priest, a Grand Pontiff, superstitious and despotic, bound by tradition, subject to the influences of heredity and locality, ceding to pecuniary and political necessities. And then there was his overweening pride as the representative of God on earth, the only legitimate and authoritative Power in the world. Hence his fatal failure of comprehension, the extraordinary lapses of his brain, along with such admirable qualities, his lively intellect, his patient persistence, his vast activity in planning and executing. But his intuition above all appeared marvellous ; for was it not that alone which apprised him, in his solitary and voluntary imprisonment, of the immense evolution that was rapidly transforming the conditions of the life of the human race ? He had thus gained a tolerably clear conception of the fearful dangers by which he was surrounded—the rising flood of Democracy, the swelling and measureless main of Science, ever threatening to swamp with its waves the narrow islet on which still stood the temple of St. Peter. The cries of the new-born social forces penetrated his thick palace walls ; reached the inner chambers of the Vatican. And all his policy was dictated by the struggle for life, by the necessity of conquering that he might continue to live and reign. If

he had tried to compass the unification of the Church, it was that he might render it strong and invincible in the battle which he foresaw. If he preached conciliation, yielded with a good grace on mere matters of form, tolerated the extravagances of his Bishops in America, it was because his great secret fear was for the disruption of the Church, irreparable disaster precipitated by some sudden schism. Ah ! the schism, he felt its breath in the winds blowing from all the quarters of the heavens, like a threatening peril against which it behoved to be armed in advance. And this fear explained his revived affection for the people, his interest in Socialism, his Christian panaceas for the miseries of the toiling multitudes.

Since Cæsar had fallen, the long dispute between the Emperor and the Pope for the mastery of the peoples was over, for the people were now their own masters ; but the Pope still bid for the vacant place of power : would the dumb giant speak and swear allegiance to him ? He had made the experiment in France ; he had abandoned the cause of the fallen monarchy ; he had recognised the Republic ; he wished it strong and prosperous : for was not France the eldest daughter of the Church, the only Catholic nation which was still strong enough to restore, some day, the vanished temporal power of the Holy See ? He must reign, reign through the aid of France, as he could not hope to reign by the aid of Germany. He must reign through the people, because the people were now the masters and the dispensers of thrones ! He must reign through the Italian Republic, if that Republic would only restore him Rome, wrested from the usurping hands of the House of Savoy, an Italian Republic of Federated States with the Pope as President, of the United States of Italy, to develop, in God's good time, into the United States of Europe. Only to reign, to reign in spite of all and over all, to reign over the whole world like Augustus, whose domineering Roman blood still sustained this frail old man, tottering on the verge of the tomb in his greedy grasping at universal domination.

" And finally, my son," continued Leo XIII, " you have committed a serious fault in speaking of a new religion. Such an expression is impious, blasphemous, sacrilegious. There is but one religion—our Holy Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman religion. Beyond its pale there is nothing but darkness and damnation. I understand quite well that you profess a return to primitive Christianity. But the Protestant schism, so culpable, so deplorable, had exactly the same pretext. Directly one strays away from the path of strict adherence to dogma, of absolute respect for tradition, one may fall over the most frightful precipices ! Ah ! schism, my son, schism is the unpardonable sin ;

it is rebellion against God; it is the unclean beast of temptation, hatched by hell for the destruction of believers. Were there nothing else in your book but these words of "a New Religion," it must be destroyed, it must be burned as a deadly poison for the soul."

And the Pope continues in this strain for some time, preaching to Pierre on the happiness of Faith, on the misery of doubt, on the infallibility of the Church, on the necessity of subjection to authority, on the all-sufficiency of Scriptures and St. Thomas of Aquinas, adducing all the well-worn old arguments of theology, before he returns to the subject of the Abbé's implicated book. Amazed and stupified, Pierre listened to this peroration as if the heavens were tumbling about his ears. God of truth! The miracles of Lourdes proved by scientific tests; science the handmaid of Religion; Faith consonant with Reason; St. Thomas of Aquinas' philosophy sufficient for the nineteenth century! Good God! what could he answer? And why should he answer?

"A most pernicious and most dangerous book," concluded Leo. XIII, "a book of which the title alone, 'The New Rome,' is a scandalous falsehood; a book the more pernicious because it has undoubted graces of style, and generous, though perverted, ideas; in short, a book which a priest who had conceived and written it in a temporary aberration of mind, should burn in public, as an act of penitence, with the same hand with which he wrote its scandalous and erroneous pages."

Pierre suddenly stood up. There was dead silence in the dimly-lighted room; through the windows Rome loomed in the distance, drowned in darkness, vast and black, starred with twinkling points of light. And his thoughts cried in him—

"True, I had lost my faith, but I thought I had regained it in the pity which the sorrows of the poor had implanted in my heart. You were my last hope; the Father, the longed-for Saviour. And it was only one more dream, one more delusion; you can never be the new Jesus, bringing peace into the world to prevent the frightful fratricidal war that is looming in the future. You can never leave your throne, descend to the people, to the poor and humble, to accomplish the supreme effort of universal brotherhood. Very well! then there is an end of you, of your Vatican and of your St. Peter's. All gives way; all tumbles into ruin, crumbles into dust before the rush of the rising people, before the sap of a spreading science. You are done with; nothing will be left of you but a mass of ruins!"

But he did not utter these words. He bowed and said,—

"Holy Father, I submit, and I withdraw my book."

His voice trembled in his bitter humiliation; his outstretched hands had a gesture of renunciation, as if he had parted with

his very soul. It was the exact formula of submission that he had used : '*Auctor laudabiliter se subjecit et opus reprobavit*'—'the author praiseworthy submits and condemns his book.' But what a frightful irony ! The book which he had sworn never to withdraw, for the success of which he had battled so ardently, he now denied and himself suppressed all of a sudden, not because he disapproved of it, but because he felt it to be as baseless and chimerical as the desire of a lover or the dream of a poet. Ah, yes, since he had been mistaken ; since he found here neither the God nor the priest that he had trusted in for the salvation of mankind, what was the use of persisting in his illusion of an impossible resurrection ! Better to cast his book away like a dead branch, like a withered leaf, henceforth without an object or a use. Slightly surprised by such a speedy victory, Leo. XIII gave utterance to an exclamation of contentment.

"Very good, very good, my son ! You have spoken words of wisdom, most befitting your calling as a priest."

And, in his evident satisfaction, he who never left anything to chance, who prepared beforehand every one of his utterances, the words that he would say, the gestures that he would use, unbent his stiffness, showed a charming condescension. Not understanding, deceiving himself as to the real reason of the submission of this revolted spirit, he prided himself on having so easily silenced him, for his familiars had pictured Pierre to him as a most redoubtable revolutionist. So he felt greatly flattered by this sudden conversion.

"And indeed, my son, he continued, it is what I expected from your superior intelligence. Recognition of faults committed, repentance and submission ; there is no purer joy than is to be found in these."

And Pierre takes his leave of the Holy Father, a sadder and a wiser man. He sees now that all along he has been made the subject of a clever diplomacy, purposely wearied out with waiting, disheartened by delays, played with as an angler plays with a heavy fish, with the object of inducing him himself to withdraw his book, without driving him to open revolt, startling him into schism, creating a scandal by his contumacy. And a subsequent conversation with Monsignor Nani convinces him of the correctness of his suspicion that the amiable and obliging prelate had been entrusted with the principal part in the plot for the suppression of his dangerous enthusiasm in the quietest and pleasantest fashion imaginable. Monsignor Nani bids him farewell with the most cordial expressions of esteem, and almost of gratitude, and with complimentary allusions to the services rendered by the French priesthood and people to the Holy See.

"And Pierre watched Monsignor Nani depart, with his airy and triumphant step, as if he thought himself marching to assured and certain victory. No ; no fear of his forgetting the lesson he had learnt at Rome. He knew it now, this desire for the unity of all the nations in the lap of their Holy Mother Church, a physical bondage in which the doctrine of Christ became the law of Augustus, the imperial master of the world. And these Jesuits, no doubt they loved France, the eldest daughter of the Church, the only child who could yet aid the Mother to recover her lost universal empire ; but they loved her as the black clouds of locusts love the green crops on which they alight, to devour and destroy them.

But Monsignor Nani does not himself belong to the Order of Jesus. He represents only the Jesuitical policy at the Vatican, the policy of being all things to all men, of giving an inch in order to take an ell, which was first invented by the fraternity of Loyola, but has now become, by the inexorable law of necessity, the sole policy of the Catholic Church.

No longer able to support her claims by open force, worsted in argument by the Renans and the Huxleys of this unbelieving age, she has had to fall back upon the Jesuitical policy of temporising expediency, courting Science, coquetting with Socialism, seeking for new means of maintaining her authority by mingling in the new movements of the time. And the old Cardinal Boccanera, who unsparingly condemned Pierre's book, as unhesitatingly condemned Leo XIII's temporising policy. Himself a staunch adherent of the unyielding firmness of Pio Nono, he freely criticised the utterances of his infallible successor, when Pierre, at his request, acquainted him with the result of his interview.

"The form," exclaimed the Cardinal, with increasing excitement, "ah ! he told you, as he tells everybody, that, while unalterably adhering to the spirit, he would yield readily on a mere matter of form. A wretched equivocation, a shuffling expedient, if not a downright hypocrisy ! My soul revolts against this opportunism, this jesuitry, which plays fast and loose with the new ideas, and only shakes the confidence of believers, brings disorder and disunion into the camp, and prepares the way for a disastrous rout. It is cowardice, base cowardice, throwing down one's arms to be the more ready for flight, fearing to fight under our true colours, disguising ourselves in the hope of deceiving the enemy, mingling in his ranks, and overcoming him by stratagem ! No, no ! the form is everything in religion, inviolable, as it has been for eighteen centuries, is now and ever shall be, the unchanging ordinance of God !"

He could not keep quiet ; he rose and began to walk up .

and down the little room, seeming to fill it with his lofty presence. And he continued his harangue on the *regime* and the policy of Leo the Thirteenth, criticising it unsparingly, condemning it ruthlessly.

"Ah! the unity, the famous unity of the Churches which they glorify him for trying to restore; what is it, but the inordinate and short-sighted ambition of a conqueror who seeks, at all risks, to extend the frontiers of his empire, without taking into account that his new subjects, disloyal and disaffected, will be the cause of constant trouble and disappointment, will disturb the security and shake the allegiance of his ancient people. So the schismatics of the East, the schismatics from all parts, will bring the contagion of their errors into the Holy Catholic Church, will try to corrupt it, to reform it, as they would say. There is only one sound policy—to be what we are, to show ourselves as we are. And is it not, I ask you, a scandal, and a danger as well, this pretended alliance of the Church with the Democracy, the sudden repudiation of the immemorial policy of the Papacy? Monarchical Government exists by Divine Right; to abandon it is to oppose the Divine purpose, to compound with the Revolution, to encourage men in their madness and badness in order to turn their folly to our own advantage. A Republic spells anarchy, and you simply commit a crime; you strike a deadly blow at authority, at order, at religion itself, when you recognise the legality of a Republic, in the idle dream of an impossible reconciliation between Church and State. And see what the Pope has done with the temporal Power! He demands it still; he pretends to remain inflexible on this question of the recovery of Rome. But, in verity, has he not resigned the temporal Power, definitely yielded up his claim, when he recognises the right of the people to choose their own form of government, to depose their kings, and to enjoy their freedom after their own fashion, like wild beasts free to roam at their will in their native forests?"

And the *intransigent* old Cardinal could not be brought to see that the policy of Leo XIII was dictated by the necessity for self-preservation; that it was only a submission to the inexorable logic of accomplished facts.

We cannot approve of the liberty M. Zola has here taken, in his account of the audience granted to the imaginary Abbe Pierre Froment by the Pope, of introducing as a character in the pages of his romance a living historical personage like Leo XIII. It is not the first time that he has thus erred against the accepted canons of good taste, for, in his novel of "Nana," he took the unwarrantable liberty of introducing the Prince of Wales, in questionable company, too, under the

transparent disguise of a synonym. He has, on this occasion, treated Pope Leo XIII with more becoming reverence: but still he has stretched the license of a historical novelist beyond the permissible point, in putting a long harangue of his own composition into the mouth of the venerable Pontiff. Very likely, by the careful use of the recorded utterances and writings of Leo the XIII, he has succeeded in cleverly imitating what he might very well be supposed to say on such an occasion: but it is to be hoped that this new departure in the introduction of real characters into fiction will not be taken as a precedent.

The minuteness of description in which M. Zola revels and excels, in this book becomes tedious. The account of the Abbe Froment's peregrinations through Rome and its environs might serve for the pages of a guide-book: the details of the upholstery and ornaments in the successive saloons of the Vatican which he traverses, might supply the place of an auctioneer's catalogue. The routine of His Holiness' daily life is chronicled with the minuteness of a Society paper's interviewer. The story which forms an interlude to the Abbe's adventures and interminable lucubrations is neither interesting nor pleasing; but the author is evidently moving in an unfamiliar *milieu*, and we cannot expect to find him as much at home in the palaces of Rome as in the gutters of Paris. And, though we concede that the priestly Court of the Vatican, with its Swiss Guards and its Knights of Malta, belongs to a world that is passing away, yet we cannot believe that, among its Sixteenth Century characteristics, it still preserves the practice of secret poisoning!

The divorce suit instituted by Benedetta against her husband has succeeded, thanks to the intervention of the all-powerful and ubiquitous Monsignor Nani. The charming Contessina is now free to marry her cousin, Dario, and they appear as a betrothed couple at the splendid *fête* given at the Palazzo Buongiovanni to celebrate the engagement of the little Princess Celia to the handsome young officer, Attilio. This "marriage of the Pope and the King" is made the occasion of a *rap-prochement* between the Black and the White Societies of Rome: the king and queen appear at the ball, while Monsignor Nani and a host of Cardinals and prelates represent the Vatican. The two betrothed couples, Attilio and Celia, Dario and Benedetta, in their youth, grace, rank and beauty, are the cynosure of all eyes.

The very next day, Dario is poisoned by eating figs out of a basket of fruit brought, as a present to Cardinal Boccanera, by the peasant priest Santobono, a creature of the Cardinal Sanguinetti's. The Comte Prada is, of course, suspected, though

unjustly, of the crime : but the Cardinal Boccanera at once divines the truth, that the basket of figs was intended for himself, in order to remove from the path of Cardinal Sanguinetti a dangerous rival to the succession of the Papal tiara. The two Cardinals were "in the running" for the possible succession, as the ostensible chiefs of the two opposing parties in the Church—the old conservative, or inflexible, party, now greatly in the minority, which fixed its hopes on Boccanera, and the moderate or Jesuitical party which adhered to Sanguinetti. A slight indisposition of Pope Leo XIII, giving rise to hopes of an approaching election, caused the creature of Sanguinetti, who was vitally interested in the accession of his patron to the chair of St. Peter, to attempt the abominable crime which miscarried with such deplorable results.

The Cardinal Boccanera, whose partiality for figs was well known to the conspirators, was that day unwell, and did not partake of them, and they fell to the share of his unfortunate nephew. Yet Boccanera does not proclaim the crime, or accuse the criminal, because he wishes to avoid a scandal which might damage the cause of the Church ! If we are to believe M. Zola, the removal of Popes and Cardinals by poison is one of the traditional State secrets of the Vatican.

Every one is in a conspiracy to avoid scandal at all hazards ; and the physician certifies the death to be due to malarial fever. All this is very unlikely and unnatural ; and the death-bed scene where Benedetta, in a transport of grief, throws herself upon the body of the dying Dario, and dies of a broken heart, mingling her last breath with his, like Adrienne and Djalma in the "Wandering Jew" of Eugene Sue, is not only unnatural, but revolting. The Abbé Pierre Froment assists at this painful scene, and, after the funeral of the lovers, quits Rome to return to Paris. We have spoken of his interminable lucubrations, in which the train of thoughts that passes through his mind is made the vehicle for the opinions of the author. The Abbe's concluding reflections contain a summary of the contents, and a commentary on the purpose, of the book.

When Pierre was at length alone, he experienced a keen sense of solitude and desolation. His slender luggage was packed ; the portmanteau and the little trunk were on the floor in the corner of the room. And how still and empty the little chamber looked, as if it were already a strange room to him. He had nothing more to do with it, but to leave it ; he felt as if he had left it already. Rome around him was nothing more than a picture, which he would carry away with him, imprinted on his memory. One hour more to wait ; it appeared to him an interminable time. Beneath him and around him the old dark and deserted palace seemed to slumber in the silence of oblivion.

He had seated himself to wait till it was time to start ; he fell into a profound *reverie*.

It was his book that his thoughts reverted to, his book, "*La Rome Nouvelle*," which he had written ; had come here to defend ; and his memory recalled that first morning on the Janiculum when he stood on the terrace of San Pietro in Montorio and gazed on the Rome of his day-dreams, appearing, as it did to him, re-juvenated and infantine under the bright clear summer sky, bathed in the splendour of the morning. There he had asked himself the decisive question, could Catholicism renew itself, return to the spirit of primitive Christianity, become the religion of the Democracy, the Faith which the world of to-day looks for in the midst of its dead illusions, to renew and perpetuate its spiritual life ? Hardly recovered from the disaster to his faith at Lourdes, he had come to Rome, his heart once more beating with high hope, to demand of her the answer to this supreme question. And now he knew the answer ; Rome had replied to him by her ruins, by her monuments, by her very soil, by her people, by her prelates, by her cardinals, by her Pope. No ! Catholicism could never renew itself ; no ! it could not revive the spirit of the early Christian Church ; no ! it could never be the religion of the New Democracy, the faith that could breathe new life into the old, perishing forms of Society. If, in its origin, it had been a democratic religion, it was now bound to this soil of old Rome, monarchical in spite of itself, forced to reclaim its temporal power under penalty of disappearing altogether, hampered by tradition, fettered by dogma, incapable of evolution, reduced to such an absolute immobility, that the Papacy, imprisoned behind the brazen gates of the Vatican, was only the ghost of eighteen centuries of atavism, nothing more than a perpetual dream of universal domination. Where his priestly faith, burning with love for his suffering fellow-creatures, had sought for Life, for the Resurrection of the Christian community, it had found only death, the dust of an ancient world that had passed away, the sterilised soil whence nothing sprang, except this monstrous growth of a despotic Papacy, claiming dominion over both bodies and souls. To his despairing cry for a new religion Rome had replied by condemning his book ; and in the bitterness of his disappointment he had himself withdrawn it. He had seen, he understood, that there was nothing here but ruins ; and it seemed to him as if he himself, body, soul and spirit, were buried beneath their rubbish-heaps.

Pierre veritably felt as though he were stifled. He rose ; went to the window which looked out upon the Tiber ; threw it wide open and leant over the sill. The rain had been falling again during the evening ; but now it had once more ceased.

The air was moist, warm and oppressive. The moon must have risen, for there was a dim yellow gleam visible through the ashen-gray clouds in the dull, leaden sky. In the fading twilight the horizon loomed vast and black; the Janiculum with its crowded roofs opposite, the river flowing below to the left beneath the blurred outlines of the Palatine, while to the right the Dome of St. Peter towered into the night, dark against the pale background of the sky. He could not see the Quirinal, but he knew it to be behind him, and he could fancy the long dark line of its interminable façade barring the horizon, shutting out the sky. How different was this dismal Rome, fading into the gathering gloom, from the bright Rome of his illusions which he had so passionately admired, that first day, from the summit of that Janiculum which he could now barely distinguish in the blackness of darkness around it! And another reflection occurred to him. He thought of the three sovereign heights, the three summits which evoked in his mind all the historic past of Rome—the ancient, the Papal, and the modern periods. On the discrowned heights of the Palatine appeared only the phantom of the Cæsar, Emperor and Pontiff, Master of the world; but he now saw St. Peter's and the Quirinal with very different eyes from those with which he had for the first time gazed upon them. The Royal Palace, which he had that day regarded with contempt, likened to a huge barrack, considered a modern mushroom excrescence, a sacrilege in the glorious old sacred city, now filled the chief place in his imagination, as well as in the horizon of his view: while the dome of St. Peter's, which he had thought so triumphal, soaring to the sky, overshadowing the city with its giant architecture, now seemed to him diminished in size, seamed with cracks and fissures—a crumbling mass of flawed pillars and worm-eaten timbers, ready to fall in sudden and stupendous ruin on the heads of the heedless worshippers.

A hoarse murmur, rising into a sullen roar, rolled up from the swollen Tiber, and Pierre shivered: a cold current of air, like a breath from the grave, passed across his face. The recollection of the symbolical triangle of the three summits recalled to memory the sufferings of the dumb and bound giant, the mass of humanity, the miserable people; the prey the possession of which was the eternal bone of contention between the Pope and the King. Long ago that strife began, in the day of the division of the inheritance of Augustus, when the Emperor was perforce compelled to content himself with the empire over the bodies of men, leaving their souls to the Pope; while the latter, from that moment, set his heart on adding the temporal to the spiritual power. The quarrel embittered and ensanguined Europe all through the Middle

Ages, without Pope or Emperor being able to gain a decided mastery, while the the prey was torn to pieces between them. At length the dumb giant, tormented beyond endurance, found his voice; tore off the Papal gag in the times of the Reformation; then set himself to overthrow the Kings in the furious revolt of 1789. And these events had inaugurated a new era for the Papacy, as Pierre had endeavoured to show in his book—the Pope at length able to disengage himself from the political entanglements which made him a temporal sovereign with the same interests and the same policy as other temporal sovereigns; free to range himself on the side of the people, to gain them over to him, to possess them altogether at last. Was it not grand, this attitude of Leo. XIII, despoiled of his dominions, proclaiming himself a socialist, gathering together the flocks of the proletariat, marching to the conquest of the future centuries? And the old fight for the possession of the people was renewed to-day between the Vatican and the Quirinal, in more confined lists; in Rome itself, the King and the Pope spying each other from their windows, disputing the possession of the people, as the falcon and the hawk dispute the warblers of the woods.

And here Pierre found Catholicism self-condemned, because it was, in essence and spirit, itself monarchical to that point that the Pope could not bring himself to make renunciation of his temporal power. Vainly did the Papacy feign to ally itself with the people; vainly tried to appear all soul and sympathy with their cause: in the new Democracy there was no place for the absolute and universal sovereignty which it claimed to derive from God. Pierre ever saw the Emperor re-appearing in the person of the Pope; and it was this re-appearance that had dissolved his dream, destroyed his book, left him hopeless and heartless amidst the ruins of his cherished illusions.

The sight of this Rome, drowned in gloom, disappearing, house by house, in the darkness of the night, so painfully affected his imagination that he hastily quitted the window; returned to throw himself wearily upon the chair, beside his luggage.

Never before had he experienced such a poignant distress, such a trouble of the soul. He remembered the hopes which he had based upon the new experience of this journey to Rome, after the disaster to his faith at Lourdes. This time, he had no longer asked for the faith of a little child, innocent and credulous; he aspired to the faith of an intellectual man, rising superior to rites and symbols, demanding the full measure of happiness for the whole human race, the faith founded upon the craving for certainty and truth. And if that faith failed, if Catholicism could no longer be the religion, the moral law of

the world to be; if the Pope of Rome, at Rome, could no longer be the Holy Father, the spiritual guide, the leader obeyed and beloved of the people, it was to him the wreck of his last hope, the supreme catastrophe in which his world was to disappear. The misery of the masses, endured until it had become unendurable, would result in a general revolution, in the conflagration of the existing edifice of society. All the scaffolding of Christian Socialism which had seemed to him such a happy invention, such a worthy means of consolidating the ancient structure of the church, he now saw levelled with the ground; he judged it only a transitory expedient which might delay for a few years more the final ruin of the time-worn edifice: he now perceived it to be founded only on a voluntary misapprehension, an intentional falsehood, a shifting policy of expediency. No; it was a system that aimed only at once more gaining an ascendancy over the people by duping them, humouring them in order to again enslave them; it was a bastard and a false system, repugnant to reason, which might succeed for a brief period, only to eventuate in a more complete catastrophe. Then all was finished; nothing remained intact; the old structure of society would disappear in the tremendous crisis of which the signs of the times announced the inevitable approach. And he remained confronted by a frightful chaos; his faith prostrated before this supreme experience, which he had from the first felt and known would either confirm it or destroy it for ever. And it was destruction that had come of it. Good God! What would become of him?

In the anguish of his thoughts Pierre arose; paced up and down the room, as if in the excitement of physical motion he might find an antidote to his mental trouble. Great God! what should he do, now that his overwhelming doubt, his miserable nihilism had returned upon him; seemed to crush him with an unsupportable anguish? He recalled his despairing cry when he had refused to bend his soul to submission, telling Monsignor Nani that he could not sacrifice the conviction of his soul; that his trust in the salvation to be wrought by Christian charity could not be extinguished; that he would vindicate his faith by a new book, in which he would indicate the new soil in which the new religion might take root and flourish. Yes! a book of burning words against Rome, into which he would put all that he had seen, all that he had heard, a book which would mirror the true Rome, Rome at it was, without charity, without love, without hope; Rome slowly and surely perishing, stifled in the pride of its imperial purple! He would return to Paris; leave the Church; become a heretic, write the book; head the new schism that they expected. Ah! the new schism; was it not already imminent, was it no

sufficiently manifest in the signs of the times, in the prodigious movements of modern ideas, in the unrest of human minds, wearying of the old exploded dogmas and yet hungering and thirsting after righteousness. Leo the Thirteenth himself must have a dim consciousness of it ; for all his policy, all his strivings after the unity of Christendom, all his manifestations of sympathy with the democracy were dictated by the desire of rallying the people round the Papacy, to strengthen it and prepare it for the coming struggle for life.

But the time was at hand ; Catholicism would soon find itself at the end of its politic concessions, incapable of retrograding further without a complete surrender, imprisoned in Rome like an old helpless hierarchical idol, while, in other lands, under different skies, in the stress of strife with rival religions, it might continue to live and grow. The Papacy was condemned by its connection with Rome, while the loss of its temporal power had given birth to the idea of a purely spiritual Pope, disengaged from local ties, an Anti-Pope, reigning over the mind of Christendom, while the successor of St. Peter was imprisoned in the fiction of Roman imperial supremacy. A new spiritual leader might arise, afar, perhaps, in that free America where the struggle for life had made the Catholic Bishops and Priests into earnest socialists, ardent democrats, apostles of the movements of the century, marching abreast of modern needs. And, while Rome could abandon nothing of her past, not a tradition, not a dogma, these new-world priests would abandon all that was already falling by the weight of its own absurdity. Ah ! what a splendid dream this, of a great Priest, a grand Reformer, a new saviour of society, the longed-for Messiah coming to the aid of suffering humanity !

For a moment Pierre was transported by the vision ; a rush of hope and triumph filled his soul with enthusiasm : if it were not in France, at Paris, that the new Reformer should arise, then afar, beyond the ocean, anywhere, in some new and fruitful soil in which the new harvest might spring up abundantly.

A new Religion ! as he had proclaimed after his disenchantment at Lourdes, a Religion that should be something better than a mere foretaste of death ; a Religion that should realise in this life the Kingdom of God foretold by the Evangelist ; that should establish equitable laws of property and labour, make truth and justice reign supreme upon the earth !

Pierre, in the exaltation of this new castle in the air, already saw in spirit the fiery sentences of his projected book in which

he would doom the old Rome to destruction, in proclaiming the restoration of the perfect liberty of the law of Christ, when his eye lighted on an object lying on a chair, indistinct in the gathering darkness, which at first caused him a start of surprise. It was a book also, different from the one of his vision, the volume by Theophile Morin which old Orlando had given him to return to the author: and he was vexed with himself for having overlooked it, for having so nearly left it behind.

Before opening his valise to stow it away, he took it up in his hand; turned over its pages abstractedly; and suddenly a flood of new ideas rushed upon his mind; he felt as if some extraordinary occurrence had happened, some great event had revolutionised his world. The book was, after all, a modest little volume, nothing wonderful, a Student's manual, containing only the elements of science; but all the branches of science were represented in it; it was a compendious summary of human knowledge and research up to date. And it was the idea of science that had interrupted Pierre's reverie, had suddenly rushed upon his mind with the irresistible energy of a sovereign and all-embracing power. Not only was Catholicism swept away before it, like dust before a whirlwind, but all the hypotheses founded on the supernatural tottered and reeled around him. Nothing but this educational handbook, this infinitely little volume of instruction, in his hand; but behind it was the universal desire to *know*, the perpetual extension of education, which had gained and grown upon the people; and the mysteries had become pure nonsense, the dogmas had resolved themselves into ancient fables, and nothing remained of the faiths that had lasted through ages.

A people saturated with science, which believes no more in mysteries or in dogmas, in compensatory happiness and in retributive justice, is a people whose faith is for ever dead: and, without faith, Catholicism is dead, too. There is the trenchant solution of the question, the knife that cuts the Gordian knot of the skein of the universe.

The solution may occupy one century, or it may occupy two centuries; science will take its time. It alone is eternal. It is simply a negation of fact to maintain that reason is compatible with Faith, and that Science is the handmaid of Religion. To-day the authority of the Scriptures is destroyed, and, to save the fragments of it, the defenders of them have had to take refuge in symbolism, in the explanation of their text in such a fashion as to accord with the new discoveries of science. And what a spectacle! the Infallible Church reduced to all kinds of shifts and expedients to explain away the utterances of the Infallible Book. The Pope alone is

infallible ; science is fallible ; we reproach it with its continual gropings after the truth ; we proclaim triumphantly that its discoveries of to-day have disproved its conclusions of yesterday. What do its blasphemous announcements, that facts do not agree with beliefs, matter to a Catholic, since we know that, at the end of time, science and religion will be reconciled ; the former will again become the obedient servant of the latter ? Was not such an assertion the climax of wilful ignorance and obstinate impudence ; blindness flatly denying the fact of the brightness of the sun ?

And the little, insignificant book, the manual of truth, continued its patient and laborious task, destroying error after error, building up by degrees a new world, as the continual labour of infinitesimal insects little by little constructs islands and continents.

In the sudden light which streamed in upon him, Pierre at length felt himself upon solid ground. Had science ever retreated ? It was Catholicism which had always recoiled, which still continued to recoil, before science, as in the days of Galileo. Science never stood still ; it abandoned one position only to take up another further in advance ; it gained ground on error step by step, and it was folly to accuse it of failure because it could not explain the Universe altogether in one word. If it had left, if it still left, unexplored part of the continually decreasing domain of mystery, subject to explanation by some plausible hypothesis, it was not the less true that it had disproved the explanations afforded by the old hypotheses, was disproving them day by day, causing them to fade and disappear in the new light of ascertained truth which it cast upon them.

And Catholicism was one of these hypotheses. Like all other religions, it is in its nature an explanation of the Universe, a code of social and political morality, intended to promote peace and happiness in the world. This code of higher law is itself as human in its origin as science ; and it is not possible to put it on one side, out of the pale of humanity, and to say that it has one domain, and science has another, and that the two need never clash. No ! science embraces all things, and it has well demonstrated its scope hitherto, and is demonstrating it still, in forcing Revelation to continually repair the breaches which it makes in its defences, until some day they shall be swept away altogether before the final overwhelming assault of truth.

It makes one laugh to hear the theologians defining limits to science, declaring that there is a domain which it cannot enter into, predicting that it will go no further, that it has reached the end of its allotted task, that it is about to abdi-

cate its functions. Ah ! little race of men with shallow brains and perverted intellects, fertile in expedients, dogmatic in arguments, obstinately refusing to re-cast your old fairy tales, science will pass by and whirl them away like autumn leaves.

And Pierre continued to turn over the leaves of the little book which conveyed to him the message of Sovereign Science. It could never fail, for it never promised an assured and achieved victory; it was only the continual quest and successive conquest of Truth. Never had it arrogated to itself the pretension of declaring the absolute truth, total, final and irrevocable—the pretension put forward by Philosophy, Revelation, and Faith. On the contrary, its mission was to destroy error, to dissipate darkness by degrees, as it admitted the light along the path of its steady advance.

Far from failing, it continually advances, overcoming at last every check and obstacle, the only safe guide and pilot for sober and reasonable minds. As for those whose spiritual needs it does not satisfy, who are possessed by the insatiable desire to know everything at once and for ever, they have the resource of betaking themselves to some religious hypothesis, always presuming that such hypothesis be founded on a basis of ascertained truth. For any hypothesis based upon beliefs which science has proved to be erroneous must sooner or later betray those who trust in it. If the religious sentiment endures in mankind, if the need of religion remains eternal, still it does not follow that Catholicism is eternal, for it is after all only one form of religion, which has been in existence only for a limited period, which other forms of religion preceded, and others yet will follow.

Religions may perish and disappear ; the religious sentiment will create new ones consonant with science. And Pierre reflected on the pretended check to science in the revival of mysticism, spiritualism, miracles, &c., of which he had pointed out the causes in his book—the re-action in the minds of the people, disappointed to find that their enhanced knowledge and increased liberty did not bring them all the benefits they had expected ; the intellectual *malaise* resulting from the empty void in which the liberated reason found itself after centuries of inherited supernaturalism. It was the thirst for the unknowable, for the unknown, which springs eternal in the human breast ; but it was also a natural and momentary re-action, occurring on the discovery that science cannot satisfy our craving for justice, our longing for happiness, our imagination of a future life of eternal bliss. But, for Catholicism to revive, the old soil in which it grew must first be renewed ; and it cannot be renewed ; secular schools and chemical laboratories have destroyed its fertility. The soil

has changed ; another tree will spring from it. Let science, then, have its religion, if religion we must have ; for no religion that is not compatible with science can find its place among the democracies of the future, the enlightened and instructed peoples for whom Catholicism is already only an exploded religion of which nought remains but dust and ashes.

And Pierre's thoughts returned to the contemplation of the imbecile action of the Congregation of the Index. They had condemned his book ; they would as certainly condemn the new book he dreamed of writing, if he ever did write it. A grand triumph indeed, to condemn the idle lucubrations of an enthusiastic dreamer, the chimerical ideas which opposed their own chimeras ! And they had the folly to leave uncondemned the little scholastic book which he held there in his hands, the only redoubtable foe, the enemy which would one day overturn the whole fabric of their infallible Church !

It seemed to them perhaps contemptible enough, in its sober livery of a common school-book : the danger of it commenced with the alphabet spelled through by infants ; it went on increasing through lesson after lesson, widening through the whole circle of the sciences, physical, natural, and material, calling in question the creation as recounted in the Scriptures. But, alas for the Index ! it no longer had the power to suppress these humble volumes, these terrible soldiers of the truth, destroyers of the Faith. What availed all the money which Leo XIII took from his hidden treasure of Peter's Pence to endow Catholic schools, in the hope of educating the army of believers in the future, of which the Papacy had need to defend itself and to conquer the world ? What availed it, when this precious treasure only served to buy this book, and others like it, as trifling and as formidable, which could never be sufficiently expurgated, which always contained too much of science, the science of which the rising tide was destined one day to sweep away the Vatican and St. Peter's ! Ah ! the imbecile, impotent Index, what a mockery and what a derision !

Then, when Pierre had put away the little book of Theophile Morin in his valise, he came back to lean once more out of the window ; and there he had an extraordinary vision.

In the dull, damp night, beneath the gloomy sky faintly illumined by the cloud-veiled moon, mist-wreaths floated in the air, partly concealing the crowded roofs of the silent city with their trailing swathes, like the ghosts of shrouds, obliterating all the well-known land-marks of the horizon. And he imagined that the times were accomplished ; that the Truth had levelled to the ground St. Peter's dome. In a hundred years more, or in a thousand years more, it would be gone, sunk into the earth, vanished from the sky. Already he had

felt it heaving and trembling beneath his feet, on the feverish day of his despair when he had gazed from its height on the pomp of Papal Rome, wrapped in the purple of the Cæsars, foreseeing the time when the temple of the God of Catholicism would dissolve in ruin, as the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus had dissolved in ruin before it. And it was finished ; the dome showed the soil with its *debris* ; nothing remained standing but a fragment of the wall, with five of the columns of the central nave still supporting a piece of the entablature ; and the four giant pillars of the transept which had borne up the dome still reared themselves erect amidst the mass of surrounding ruin, as if indestructible. The gathering mists rolled their wreaths before his eyes, changed his vision ; a thousand years more had passed away, and now nothing remained ; the fragment of wall, the columns, the cyclopean pillars themselves were gone.

The accumulated earth of ages must be cleared away to discover among the brambles and the wild herbs some fragments of broken statues, of graven marble, over the inscriptions of which the antiquarians of the day might dispute. As erstwhile, on the Capitoline Hill, among the buried *debris* of the temple of Jupiter, wild goats leaped and clambered, browsed on the bushes in the silence and the solitude of the close Italian summer day, broken only by the monotonous buzzing of the flies.

Then only Pierre felt the climax of the catastrophe of his faith. All was finished ; Science had triumphed ; the old world had disappeared from view. Where was the need for a grand schismatic, a new reformer ? Where was the use for one, if it were only to build up the baseless fabric of another dream ? Nothing seemed to matter now except science, in its everlasting struggle to master the unknown, its slow tracking of truth, its continuous diminution of the realm of mystery. Would it ever attain the point of satiating man's thirst for the Divine, of satisfying all his mental needs ? And in the disaster to his apostolic enthusiasm for the conversion of the world, his faith dead, his hope of using the old force of Catholicism for the social and moral salvation of the people dead also, he felt himself once more supported only by his reason. If he had put his dream into a book, if he had gone through this second and terrible crisis of faith, it was because his sentiment had once again proved stronger than his reason. It was his mother that had wept in his heart at the sufferings of the poor, in the vehement desire to assuage them, to avert the coming social conflict : and his charity had overflowed, and had stifled the scruples of his intelligence. Now he hearkened to the voice of his father, pure reason, bitter reason, eclipsed

for a time, but now revealing itself again with transcendent power. As after Lourdes, it protested against the adoration of the absurd, and the abdication of common sense ; for it was the voice of reason. It alone guided men safely and securely amidst the ruins of the ancient faiths and the mistakes and disappointments of Science. Ah ! Reason ; he could suffer only by it ; he would conquer only by it ; he swore to serve it only, to follow the dictates of no other guide, even at the sacrifice of his happiness !

What should he do ? Vainly had he tried to decide, at this moment. All was doubtful and uncertain ; his world lay before him, choked and encumbered by the ruins of his hopes and projects. To-morrow things might seem clearer. Away there, in the miserable suburb, he would again join the good Abbé Rose, who, the very day before, had written begging him to return, to come back quickly to help his poor people, to cherish them, to save them, since Rome, so glorious from afar, was deaf to the voice of Christian charity. And there, around the good, pious old priest, he would find the ever-increasing crowds of miserable wretches, the fledgelings fallen out of the nests, pale with famine, shivering with cold, the poverty-stricken homes where the father drank and the mother prostituted herself ; the sons and daughters wallowed in vice and crime ; whole households living, on the verge of famine, amidst repulsive squalor and shameless promiscuity—no furniture, no linen—the life of the beast who lives how and when it can, as chance and instinct decide. Then there were the frosts of winter, the disasters of strikes and lock-outs, the scourge of phthisis sweeping off the weak ones, while the strong clenched their fists and cried for justice or vengeance. Then, one evening, he would, perhaps, chance on a chamber of horrors where a mother had immolated herself with her little ones, the youngest in her arms at her empty breast, the others strewn upon the bare boards of the flooring, at length happy and satisfied in death. Oh, no ! that could not last ; poverty driving people to suicide in the midst of Paris rolling in riches, drunk with pleasure, throwing millions away for the gratification of a caprice. The social edifice was rotten at the foundation ; all would tumble into ruin, smothered in blood and mire ! Never had he felt so strongly the ludicrous incompetence of charity, as at this moment. And all of a sudden the right word, the required word that should replace it, occurred to him ; the word that was already on the lips of the dumb giant, the gagged and fettered people : it was the word Justice. Ah ! yes ; Justice, and not Charity ! The latter had done nothing but perpetuate poverty ; the former, perhaps, might end it. It was justice that the people hungered for ; justice alone could clear

away the old order of society to re-construct the new. The dumb giant had been faintly heard grumbling and muttering through the ages, while the possession of him was disputed between Popes and Emperors, Kings and Priests; but now he had spoken and he would belong neither to the Vatican nor to the Quirinal; neither to the Pope nor to the King; he would be his own master, and the first word he had spoken was 'justice.' Would to-morrow be the dawn of an era of justice and of truth? And in his anguish Pierre felt certain only of one thing; that he would keep his priestly vows, do his duty in the vocation to which Fate had called him, a faithless priest watching over the faith of others, renouncing the pleasures and prizes of the world, with melancholy conviction that it was beyond his power to renounce his intelligence as he had renounced his passions.

So absorbed was he in his thoughts, while his eyes were fixed on the great city below him, with its monster buildings slowly disappearing in the gloom, that he never heard himself called. It needed a touch on the shoulder to arouse him.

"Monsieur l'Abbé, Monsieur l'Abbé,"

And, as he turned, Victorine said to him:

"It's half past nine. The carriage is at the door; Giacomo has taken down the luggage. It's time to go, Monsieur l'Abbé."

Then, seeing him blinking his eyes, still half dreaming, she smiled:

"You were saying good-bye to Rome; what wretched weather!"

"Yes, wretched," replied he.

They went down together. He had given her a hundred-franc note to divide with the other servants. And she preceded him with a lamp, because, as she explained to him, the palace was so dark that night, that one could hardly see one's way.

Ah! that parting, that last descent, down the long stairs of the dark and silent palace, how it made Pierre's heart fail. He had taken a last look round his little chamber, that farewell look that always moved him so profoundly, even in quitting a place where he had been unhappy. Then, in passing by the room occupied by Don Vigilio, whence not a sound was heard, he imagined him prone upon his pillows, holding his breath, lest even the slightest movement might betray his presence, attract the notice of some watchful and spying ear.

And again, on the landings of the second and first storeys, as he passed the doors of the apartments of Donna Serafina and of the Cardinal, whence not a sound issued, where not a breath stirred, he shivered as if he were traversing a tomb.

Since their return from the funeral, they had given no sign of life, remaining motionless in their hermetically sealed chambers, whence not a whisper, not a footfall, came to disturb the silence of the deserted halls. Victorine descended before him, lamp in hand, and Pierre followed her mechanically, thinking of those two left there alone, the last of their failing race, in their old palace falling to ruin, like the sole survivors of a world that was passing away. With Dario and Benedetta had vanished all the hopes of their lives ; there remained of the ancient house only the old maid and the childless priest, in their solitude and sorrow. The gloomy and interminable corridors, the wide, cold staircase which descended into the desolate darkness, the vast halls with their bare poverty-stricken walls, the damp portico with its mouldering and mutilated statues of Venus and Apollo ; and the little wild garden with its scented orange trees, where no one would ever go again to find the adorable Contessina under the shade of the laurels by the ancient Sarcophagus, all combined to fill his soul with unutterable sorrow in the deathly silence in which the last of the Boccaneras were left awaiting the annihilation of their house and of their God. And the silence remained unbroken save by a still small sound as of a creeping mouse, of a gnawing rat ; perhaps the Abbé Paparelli, the Jesuit, at his desk somewhere in some corner of the desert rooms, busy in his tireless task of mining and excavating, consummating the slow and relentless process of ruin.

The carriage stood before the door, with the yellow rays of light from its two lamps piercing the darkness of the street. The luggage was already placed upon it, the little trunk beside the driver, the portmanteau on the front seat ; and Pierre stepped into the carriage.

"Oh ! you have plenty of time," said Victorine, standing on the pavement, "you've got everything ; I'm glad that you have such a good start."

At this last moment, he felt comforted by the kindness of his countrywoman, the good soul who had greeted his arrival and who now bade him God-speed at his departure.

"I won't say *au revoir*, Monsieur l'Abbé, for I don't expect they'll see you back again in their infernal town in a hurry. Adieu, Monsieur l'Abbé."

"Adieu, Victorine. And thank you again, with all my heart."

The carriage started at a rapid trot, turning down the narrow and tortuous streets which led to the Place Victor Emmanuel. It had ceased to rain ; the hood of the carriage was down ; in spite of the mildness of the humid air, the priest felt cold, yet could not make up his mind to stop the carriage to have the hood raised, while the taciturn driver seemed only in a hurry to rid himself of his fare.

And when they arrived at the Place Victor Emmanuel, Pierre was surprised to find it already so deserted at such an early hour of the night; the houses shut up, the pavement vacant, the electric lamps throwing their light upon the melancholy solitude. It was chilly, and the rising fog half hid the façades of the houses. As they passed the Chancery buildings, their colossal bulk seemed fast disappearing in the gathering gloom. At the end of the street of Araceli, dimly lighted up by its rare gas-lamps, the Capitol was undiscernible in the darkness of the night. Further on, the wide Place grew narrower; the carriage rolled between the dark and overshadowing walls of the *Gesu* church on the one hand, and the huge *Altieri* palace on the other; and in this strait and ancient way, where the sunlight never penetrated to dissipate the mists of antiquity, Pierre, shivering with cold, fell again into a *reverie*.

His thoughts had suddenly recurred to a subject that had before troubled his imagination—the march of human civilisation from the unknown regions of Asia towards the setting sun. A wind from the east had ever borne on its wings the seeds of the human harvest, to plant them in the west. And for long, long past, the nursery of humanity had itself been smitten with death and destruction, as if the human race could advance only by successive stages, leaving behind it the soil exhausted, the cities ruined, the peoples decimated and deteriorated; while the tide of population and civilisation rolled from east to west; gravitated towards an unknown goal. Nineveh and Babylon on the banks of the Euphrates, Thebes and Memphis by the waters of the Nile, had crumbled into ruin, perished of decrepitude, fallen into an irreparable oblivion. And this decrepitude had gained the shores of the Mediterranean, buried Tyre and Sidon under the dust of ages, crept on to enfold Carthage, struck with senile paralysis in the midst of its power and splendour.

This moving mass of humanity, which some hidden force seemed to be always impelling from east to west, marked the stages of its march by the ruins of the civilisations which it left behind it. And what a frightful scene of sterile desolation was to-day presented by the cradle of human history! Asia, Egypt, fallen into their second childhood, mummified in imbecility and ignorance, buried amid the ruins of ancient cities that had once been the capitals of the civilised world!

In the middle of his dreaming, Pierre was conscious of passing the Venetian Palace, drowned in the darkness, as if its walls were fading away before the assault of some invisible power. Then, after passing the long opening of the Corso to the left, looking deserted also under the white glare of its

electric lights, the Torlonia Palace appeared upon the right, one wing already levelled by the pick-axe, in process of demolition ; while, higher up, on the left, the palace of the Colonnas reared its gloomy front and rows of darkened windows, as if, deserted by its masters, divested of its ancient state, it, in its turn, awaited the work of destruction.

The carriage rolled more slowly, ascending the slope of the Rue Nationale, and Pierre returned to his *reverie*. Had not the hour of Rome herself struck ? was she not herself doomed to disappear, to share in the destruction which the westward movement of human civilisation left everywhere behind it in its track ? Athens and Sparta slept under the memories of the past, and played no part in the world of to-day ; all the south of the Italian peninsula was already invaded by the creeping paralysis ; it was at Naples to-day ; it would be the turn of Rome to-morrow.

She was already on the verge of the contagion, at the margin of the mortification which was slowly but surely extending over the body of the old Continent, at the spot where the life failed, where the impoverished earth could no longer afford sustenance to the peoples, where the men seemed stricken with the paralysis of old age in their cradles. In the last two centuries Rome had been wasting away, slipping out of the life of the century, without industries, without commerce, incapable even of producing science, literature, or art. And it was no longer only the dome of St. Peter's which sank, strewing the soil with its ruins, as had fallen the temple of the Capitoline Jupiter. In his dark and dismal dream, it was Rome herself that sank, strewing her seven hills with the *debris* of her ruins, her churches, her palaces, her whole streets and squares levelled with the ground, overgrown with brambles and briars. Like Nineveh and Babylon, like Thebes and Memphis, Rome was nothing but a barren waste, diversified only with heaps of ruins, the haunts of swarms of serpents and troops of rats, among which antiquarians and historians vainly tried to identify the remains of once famous shrines and palaces.

The carriage changed direction, and Pierre recognised in an opening in the obscurity the column of Trajan. But now it loomed black through the gloom of the night, like the dead trunk of a giant tree, whose boughs had been shorn off by the scythe of Time. And higher up he perceived, as he raised his head, while the vehicle was traversing the triangular Place, the real tree, the umbrella pine of the Villa Aldobrandini, its *silhouette* black against the leaden-coloured sky ; but it no longer appeared to him a symbol of the grace and pride of Rome ; it was nothing but an inky blot ; it looked like a spread-

ing column of smoke going up from the charred ruins of the consumed city.

And now a sudden terror seized him in the troubled imaginations of his confused dream. The paralysis which benumbed the ancient world, had passed over Rome ; Lombardy was affected ; Genoa, Turin, and Milan shared the long sleep of Venice, and now it was the turn of France ! The Alps were passed ; the harbour of Marseilles was choked with sand, like the ports of Tyre and Sidon. Lyons had sunk into solitude and sleep ; Paris was overcome by torpor, changed into a sterile field studded with stones, bristling with thistles, dead like Nineveh and Babylon, Carthage and Rome, while the peoples continued their westward march, moving with the eternal movement of the sun. A great cry rent the darkness, the death-wail of the Latin races. History, which seemed to have its birthplace in the basin of the Mediterranean Sea, had moved on, and the Ocean had become the centre of the world. At what hour of the human day had we arrived ? Had midday come to the human race, which had left its cradle there in the Far East at day-dawn, travelled by stages so long and so far, leaving the traces of its deserted encampments all along its path ? Then, was it the afternoon that was commencing, the second half of the day ; the new world replacing the old ; the era of the cities of America, where Democracy was in evolution, where new religions were sprouting queen-cities of a new century ; and beyond them on the other side of another Ocean, on the other side of the world, on the other side of the human cradle, the inmoveable extreme East, jealous China and strange Japan, the threatening and swarming ferment of the multitudinous millions of the Yellow Race ?

But, as the carriage finished the ascent of the Rue Nationale, Pierre's nightmare was dissipated. He breathed a purer air ; he felt hope and courage anew springing in his heart. But the National Bank with its ugly modernity, its stuccoed enormity, rising before him, made him think of a ghastly phantom promenading in its shroud ; while, above the dimly-discerned dark mass of its groves and gardens, the long line of the Quirinal shut out the sky.

The road still went on ascending and widening, and at length on the summit of the Viminal in the Place des Thermes, as the carriage passed by the ruins of the palace of Diocletian, he once more breathed freely. No, no ! the sun would never set on Humanity ; the human day could know no evening : it was eternal, and the stages of civilisation would succeed each other to infinity. What mattered this breath from the East that impelled the peoples westward, urging them along the pathway of the sun ? They would return by the other face of

the Globe ; they would make the revolution many times, until the day when they would rest from their wanderings in the realisation of their dream of Peace, Truth, and Justice. After the new civilisation, grouped round the Atlantic as its centre, with its shores studded with sovereign cities, another civilisation would be born around the Pacific, the coasts of which would be covered with new capitals the very sites of which were still unknown and undreamed of, almost undiscovered. After that, other civilisations, and again others, always recommencing, never ending. And at this moment he had a sensation of joy and hope, in thinking of the great instinctive movement of this era of the Nationalities, the desire of unity and feeling of fraternity which filled the heart of the peoples. Proceeding from one family, separated, dispersed, divided into different tribes later on, estranged by fratricidal hatreds, they now seemed to retrace their steps again, to become, in spite of all obstacles, a united family once more. The provinces were uniting in nations ; the nations were uniting in races ; the races would unite finally in one universal humanity ; Humanity without frontiers, without wars, living on the fruits of its universal labour ; in a universal community of property ! Was not such a state of things the end of evolution, the object of the universal propaganda, the legitimate conclusion to the lessons of History ? May Italy become a strong and prosperous nation ; may an understanding be arrived at between her and France ; may the fraternity of the Latin nations develop into the universal fraternity of all the peoples ! Ah ! the universal country, the earth at last pacified and prosperous, in how many centuries more, and what an idle dream !

Then, at the Station, in the midst of the bustle and the hurry, Pierre ceased to dream. He had to take his ticket, register his luggage. And he hastened to take his place in the train. On the morrow at day-break, he would be in Paris."

F. H. TYRRELL,
Lieut.-General.

ART. IV.—MAHOMEDAN ASCENDANCY IN THE DECCAN.

BY the term "Deccan" is meant, roughly, that portion of Southern India which is bounded by the Vindhya mountains and the River Godavery on the North, by the Rivers Kistna and Tangabadhra on the South, and by the Eastern and Western Ghats on the East and West. In reviewing the subject of Mahomedan ascendancy in the Deccan, we do not purpose to take in any period later than the fall of the Mahomedan Kingdom of Golconda on the death of the Emperor Aurunzebe, which took place in A.D. 1707, after which the present dynasty of Hyderabad was founded by Nizam-ul-Mulk, in 1748. Our survey, therefore, will extend from the first establishment of Mahomedan rule in the Deccan about the close of the 13th century, to the fall of the last of the local kingdoms, towards the end of the 17th century; embracing a period of about 400 years.

The first question that naturally arises is, under what circumstances, and in what manner, did the Mahomedans first obtain a footing in the Deccan? In order to understand this, we must take a glance at the condition of Southern India immediately before the advent of the Moslems. The *Deccan*, which is probably a corruption of the term "Dakkhin," the South, was then occupied by many ancient Hindoo Kingdoms, the two northernmost of which had their capitals at Deogiri and Warangal. "The former," says Mr. Gribble, the historian of the Deccan, "extended to the Western Coast, and far away South to Mysore, and the latter included Orissa and probably all the Telugu-speaking Districts of Hyderabad and Madras." The ruins which remain show that they were great and powerful and advanced in civilisation. Deogiri was both a large city and a fortress. The caves of Ellora and Ajunta show how far the art of architecture had developed in that country; and in Warangal the remains prove the existence of immense irrigation tanks and canals, indicating the attention paid by the Hindoo rulers to agriculture. "In both these cities," says the historian, "there were enormous accumulations of wealth, consisting of gold, precious stones and elephants, all of which were found within their own boundaries. The people appear to have been brave, happy and prosperous, and from West to East there were scattered about numerous holy shrines which brought together thousands of pilgrims. It was this wealth that attracted the cupidity of the Mahomedans."

This cupidity was manifested, not in the legitimate methods

of exchange or barter, not by opening a trade with these wealthy cities or entering into treaties with them for mutual advantage and profit; but by the most unprovoked invasions for purposes of plunder and pillage. The invaders were simply raiders and depredators, coveting the fruits of the skill and industry of the peaceful Hindoos.

In the year 1294, Ala-ud-din, the Governor of the Bengal provinces under Jalal-ud-din the Sultan of Delhi, having heard of the wealth stored up in the cities of the idolatrous Hindoos, determined to possess himself of that wealth as the property of the true believers. As the event subsequently showed, he wanted money as a means to ascend the throne of his uncle and father-in-law, the Emperor of Delhi. Without his sanction, therefore, and without any *casus belli*, he advanced southwards with a large army and laid siege to the fortress of Deogiri, which, according to Barni, the Mahomedan historian, was "exceedingly rich in gold and silver, jewels and pearls, and other valuables"—as was sufficiently indicated by its subsequent designation of *Dowlatabad*. The Hindoo Rajah Ram Deo sent an army to meet the invader; but it was totally defeated, and the fortress invested. Deogiri was saved only by the Rajah agreeing to give up an immense quantity of treasure consisting of gold, jewels and elephants, to an amount never seen before.

Using these treasures to forward his own ambitious designs, Ala-ud-din succeeded, after the treacherous murder of his doubly related kinsman, Jelal-ud-din, Emperor of Delhi, in ascending the Moghul throne. From that "bad eminence" he remembered that the sack of Deogiri had yielded only part of its wealth; and accordingly, in the year 1308, he sent an army to that city, the Rajah of which had given no tribute for several years. This time the city was taken, an immense amount of treasure was secured, and the Rajah and his family were sent as prisoners to Delhi, where, on his doing homage, they were "pardoned!"

Next year (1309) it became Ala-ud-din's "religious duty" to take from the hands of the infidels of Tellingana, where people said there were gold and diamond mines, the treasures to which the faithful had a preferential claim. Accordingly another expedition was despatched to Warangal, the capital of that province, under the command of Malik Naib Kafur. On the way, the fort of Sarbar was taken by storm and all its inhabitants were killed. "Every one," says the Mussulman historian, "threw himself with his wife and children, upon the flames, and departed to hell;" those who escaped the fire being put to the sword, the strong fortress of Warangal was then invested, its outer wall, which was seven miles and one-

eighth in circumference, being surrounded by the invaders with a wooden breastwork constructed with all the trees of the sacred groves. After an obstinate defence, the outer wall was taken, and the Rajah sued for peace. He was ordered to yield the whole of his treasure, and a general massacre was threatened if he kept back any thing for himself. This demand was complied with, and a promise given of an yearly tribute. The Mahomedan general left the city with his army and a thousand camels groaning under the weight of the treasure. This, however, was not the end. Warangal was destined to sustain several other sieges, until, eighteen years after, it was sacked and destroyed. Such was the story of the entrance of the Mahomedans into the Deccan. It needs no comment.

The plunder obtained from the two excursions into the Deccan, only excited the Sultan's desire for more ; and he sent another expedition to the regions further South, even to the boundaries of Mysore. There the Mahomedan army, under Malik Kafur, conquered a Hindoo Rajah and made him yield a large amount of treasure and elephants, which were sent as a first instalment to Delhi. Thence the invaders advanced to Madura, the head quarters of a king, Kales Dewar, who ruled over Malabar, Trichinopoly and Tanjore. The wealth accumulated at Madura is said to have been "1,200 crores of gold, every crore being equal to a thousand lakhs" of dinars ; besides pearls, rubies, turquoises and emeralds, beyond the power of language to express. Malik Kafur, taking occasion from a quarrel between the Rajah's two sons, invaded Madura, sacking and destroying all the towns and temples on the line of march, until he reached the capital, which shared the same fate. The booty obtained there is said to have been 512 elephants, 5,000 horses and 500 maunds of jewels of every description. With all this treasure Malik Kafur returned to Delhi.

Ill-gotten treasure excited the same evil passions in Malik Kafur as it had in Ala-ud-din, who, in his turn, fell a victim to the avarice and ambition of his general ; his death having been hastened by the said general, who ascended his master's throne. Retribution, however, followed his steps and he was killed in sleep by some nobles, who placed upon the throne Mubarak Khan, the surviving son of Ala-ud-din, under the title of Kutb-ud-din (1317).

The following year an expedition was sent against Deogiri, which had revolted under Harpal Deo, who was defeated, taken prisoner and flayed alive ; his skin being hung over the gates of the fort. The consequences of the lust after Hindoo gold had not yet come to an end ; the new Sultan Kutb-ud-din being murdered by Khusru Khan (the last descendant of Ala-ud-din), who, after reigning a few months under the title of

Nasir-ud-din, was in turn slain by Ghazi Malik, who then mounted the throne, as the founder of a new dynasty, under the title of Ghiyas-ud-din Tughlak Shah (A.D. 1320). Two successive expeditions were sent by this Sultan, under his son Ulugh Khan, against Warangal, which was taken, the Rajah, his family and his treasures being sent to Delhi, and the name Warangal changed to Sultanabad. The next step in the progress of Moslem court intrigue was the murder of the Emperor by his son Ulugh Khan, who succeeded his father, under the title of Mahomed Tughlak Shah.

The results of Mahomedan interference in the Deccan up to this point were the destruction of two great Hindoo kingdoms, Warangal, or Tellingana, and Deogiri. "All that they have done," says the historian, "is to carry away plunder and leave behind them ruins and heaps of corpses, and a legacy of bitter hatred on account of their cruelty and rapine."

The next stage in the development of events is the founding of a new kingdom, which took place in this wise. The parricide Sultan conceived the mad idea of transferring his capital from Delhi to Dowlutabad. The transfer was not to be a gradual process; but all the inhabitants of the city, which had existed for 180 years, were ordered, at a moment's notice, to leave their homes and emigrate to Dowlutabad. A host of the inhabitants with their families and dependants, wives and children, men servants and maid servants, were forced to remove. The result to the old city was complete ruin, not a cat or dog remaining in city or suburbs. Many perished on the way, and of those who arrived at Deogiri many pined to death. Few survived to return home, when, after a while, permission to do so was accorded. One of the emigrants, however, was a man named Hassan, destined to be the founder of a new kingdom. While a young man he was a field labourer in the employ of a Brahman of Delhi named *Gangu*. One day, while working at the plough, Hassan came upon an earthen vessel full of antique gold coins. He immediately carried them to the Brahman, who informed his sovereign Sultan Ghazi-ud-din of the discovered treasure. The Sultan was so pleased with Hassan's honesty that he bestowed on him the command of a hundred horse. The Brahman, who was one of the royal astrologers, struck by this sudden rise of fortune, cast his horoscope and declared that Hassan would one day become a king. The same destiny was predicted by a Mahomedan saint named Sheikh Nizam-ud din Duba. These prophecies doubtless fired his ambition, which later events seemed to foment. For the governor of Dowlutabad selected Hassan as one of his officers, and assigned to him as a jaghir "the town of Ronechee with lands dependant on the district of Roy-

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baugh," now situated within the Nizam's dominions, where Hassan remained for some years increasing in wealth and influence.

In the meantime, owing to half a dozen or more insane projects of the Emperor Mahomed Tughlak, among which were the doubling of the land tax, the conquest of the world and the invasion of China, the country broke out everywhere into open revolt. All the out-lying provinces of the empire were lost except Dowlutabad. But even here ultimately a revolt broke out, at the instigation of nobles who had fled thither to escape the cruelties of the Emperor. Among the conspirators was Hassan Gangoh, or Kangoh, who had obtained the title of Zaffir Khan, with several large districts situated in Gulburgah. Here he had gathered forces which he led against the Imperial troops under Imad-ul-Mulk, who was killed in an encounter near Bieder with heavy loss. The result was that the rebel general Ismael, who had been declared first Sultan of the Deccan, seeing that the army looked up to Hassan as their natural leader and that he himself was very aged, voluntarily resigned the throne and advised the army to elect Hassan Kangoh, which was done enthusiastically, and the new Sultan invested with the title of *Sultan Alla-ud-din Hassan Kangoh Bahmany*. (A.D. 1347). In his hour of prosperity Hassan did not forget his old benefactor, whose name he had assumed, but committed to his care his treasury and finances. Kangoh is said to have been the first Brahman who took service under a Mahomedan prince.

Alla-ud-din, the founder of the new Bahmany kingdom, having been left undisturbed by the wise policy of the Emperor Firoz Shah, extended his boundaries until, in a short time, his dominions comprised almost the whole of the Western and Southern portions of what now forms the Nizam's dominions. One of his first acts was to marry his son to the daughter of his prime minister, Malik Seyf-ud-din Ghoree. The wedding was celebrated with the utmost magnificence. The king distributed among his nobility and others ten thousand robes of cloth of gold, velvet and satin, as well as a thousand Arab and Persian horses and two hundred sabres set with jewels. The rejoicings lasted a whole year, on the last day of which the nobility and officers presented to the Sultan offerings of money and jewels, and the rarest productions of all countries. By such lavish expenditure the founder of the new dynasty endeavoured to win over an alien people, and apparently with success; for we read of no rebellions or revolts among his Hindu subjects. The only conspiracy that we are told of was organised by the ex-Sultan Ismael, who had been made Amir-ul-Amra, or chief of the nobles. This distinction did not

satisfy him when he saw that preference and precedence were accorded to the prime minister, Seyf-ud-din Ghoree ; and he accordingly complained to the King, who replied that in every government the pen ranked above the sword. The result was that, though pretending to be satisfied, he secretly conspired to assassinate the Sultan, and to place himself on the throne which he had once resigned. Some of the conspirators, however, repented and revealed the plot to the Sultan, who called an assemblage of his principal nobles and officers, and in their presence accused the Amir-ul-Amra of treachery. This having been denied by the Amir on oath, the informer was called and a pardon offered to all who would reveal the truth. The guilt of Ismael having been conclusively proved, he was put to death. But, though justly severe in this matter, the Sultan was neither cruel nor vindictive. The traitor's property was not confiscated, and the royal favour was not withdrawn from his family, his son being appointed to his father's post as Amir ul-Amra. Mr. Gribble remarks with much truth, "Alla-ud-din may have been brought up as a peasant, but he showed that he knew how to behave like a king."

Such a public policy and such wise, just and generous personal conduct won the respect of his subjects and conquered even enemies. The Rajah of Tellingana, whose disobedience had been treated with generous forbearance on account of his former assistance to the Sultan, "was overcome," says the historian Ferishta, "by the sense of his virtues, submitted to his authority and agreed to pay the tribute which he had heretofore remitted to the King of Delhi." Alla-ud-din's end, however, was not far off. Having assembled an army to invade Guzerat, on an invitation from the representative of the old Rajah, with a view to the suppression of turbulent jagirdars, the Sultan, on his way to that country, was attacked by a severe illness and compelled to return to Gulburgah. Feeling his end approaching, he divided his kingdom into four provinces, over each of which he placed a governor. After this, distributing his money to the poor and offering praise to God, he resigned his breath.

"Born in the lowest ranks, he rose by his own honesty of character to be the founder of a great kingdom, and at no time was his career stained by cruelty or injustice." Alla-ud-din retained throughout his career integrity of conduct and dignity of character and ended his life with humble piety and simplicity. He was as fair a specimen as we have of a good and wise Mahomedan ruler.

But, while despotic rule offers scope and occasion for the display of personal qualities of a high order, such as justice,

nobleness and generosity, which are a blessing to the subject populations, it also puts into the hands of an autocrat of a different character, the power of sacrificing the weal of his subjects to personal ambition or to the gratification of the basest passions, and places at the mercy of heartless and cruel tyrants the lives and happiness of millions of poor and helpless subjects. The benevolent founder of the Bahmany kingdom was succeeded by Muhammad Shah, an arbitrary and capricious autocrat, who plunged the country into wars on account of slights to his personal dignity. One of these wars arose in this wise: On the occasion of the festivities which inaugurated the receipt of a throne of ebony covered with pure gold and set with jewels, which was made a present of to the Sultan by the Rajah of Tellingana, Muhammed Shah, who was flushed with wine, took it into his head to reward certain singers who had performed before him, by ordering his minister to give them a draft on the treasury of the Hindu King of Vijayanagar. The following morning the foolish monarch, in his sober moments, refused to cancel the order passed as a drunken freak. The consequence was a rupture with the Rajah, who caused the messenger to be paraded through his city on an ass and sent back with every mark of contempt and derision. In anticipation of the rupture which was sure to ensue, the Rajah resolved to carry the war into the enemy's territory. Accordingly he marched with a large force into the Doab, or that portion of the country which was situated between the Tangabadhra and the Kistna, and surprised and captured the fort of Mudkel, putting its entire garrison of 600 men to the sword, with the exception of one man who was to carry the news of the disaster to the Sultan. That potentate, on receiving the tidings, caused the solitary survivor to be put to death as a coward, and then swore an oath that he would not sheath his sword until he had slaughtered a hundred thousand infidels. In the first attack made by the Sultan upon the Rajah's army, which was put to utter rout on the southern side of the river Kistna, no less than 70,000 Hindus were put to the sword without regard to age or sex. The plunder was enormous; the royal share alone being 2,000 elephants, 300 pieces of cannon, 700 Arab horses and a litter set with jewels. Following up his advantage, the Sultan crossed the Tangabadhra, and utterly broke up the vast Hindoo army, inflicting a general massacre in which not even pregnant women, or children at the breast, were spared. Muhammad Shah followed the fleeing Rajah to his capital, Vijayanagar, before which city he sat with his whole army. Managing to draw out the Hindoos by a ruse, the Mahomedans attacked

them and slew 10,000 soldiers, extending the slaughter to the innocent inhabitants of all the villagers in the neighbourhood. Immense booty was gained, and the Hindoo power seemed entirely crushed. The Rajah sued for peace which was granted on compliance with the original demand in the draft for the hire of the musicians. The historian of this war records, with ill-concealed exultation, that, from first to last, 500,000 infidels had fallen before the swords of the true believers, and that "the Carnatic did not recover the depopulation for several decades." Let it be added that the Sultan swore an oath which he would observe and bind his successors to observe, that in future he would not put to death a single enemy after victory. The terror of the Sultan's name sufficed to repress another rebellion at Dowlutabad, after which, at the instance of a *Fakir*, he ordered all the distilleries to be destroyed, and suppressed the Deccan banditti by the death of 8,000 robbers whose heads were sent to Gulburgah and placed on poles outside the gates. After Muhammad Shah's death, five successive Sultans occupied the throne, of whom four were assassinated. The first of these princes was Mujahid Shah, a tall, handsome man of great bodily strength, whose personal exploits were that he threw a man to whom he owed a grudge, in a bout of wrestling, and broke his neck, and that he killed an enormous tiger on foot by shooting an arrow through its heart. Invading Vijayanagar, he besieged the chief city which he might have taken, but for a fanatical attack he made on a sacred temple, which he destroyed. This roused the Hindoos to a man, and so threatening was their attitude that the Sultan had to retreat. He was obliged, however, to give the enemy battle; but suffered a defeat, which he ascribed to disobedience on the part of his uncle, Daoud Shah, who, resenting the reprimand, conspired with the son of the man who had been killed by the Sultan in wrestling, to assassinate Mujahid Shah. This was done and Daoud Shah ascended the throne, only to fall a victim, in his turn to the dagger of a young man who was instigated to the deed by the murdered Sultan's sister, Rûh Parwar Ageh. This strong-minded princess then disposed of the eldest son of Daoud Shah, a lad of nine years named Mahomed Sunjer, by blinding him, because the partizans of Daoud Khan wanted to put him on the throne. She preferred Daoud Khan's youngest brother, Mahmood Shah, the sole surviving son of the last Sultan, and caused him to be proclaimed.

Mahmood Shah's first act was to punish the murderers of his nephew, Mujahid; Khan Mahomed having been imprisoned for life and Musoud Khan, the son of the betel-bearer, being impaled alive. Sultan Mahmood is said to have been a wise and humane prince, devoted to peace and the cultivation of

literature and science. Poets and learned men flocked from all parts of the Mahomedan world to the court of Gulburgah, to share in his bounty. That he was an enlightened ruler appears from a sentiment which he was in the habit of expressing, *viz.*, that kings were only trustees of the divine riches, and that to expend more than was actually necessary was to commit a breach of trust. He bestowed great care and attention on education; establishing schools in all the principal towns, including Gulburgah, Bieder, Candahar, Ellichpur, Doulatabad, Choule, and Dabul. In a famine he employed ten thousand bullocks in importing, from Malwa and Guzerat, grain which was retailed to the poor at a low price. This pacific reign was disturbed by only one rebellion, which was speedily suppressed. This wise and beneficent ruler died of a putrid fever, in 1396, after a reign of nineteen years and some months.

Mahmood Shah left two sons, of whom the elder, Ghazi-ud-din, who ascended the throne at the age of 17 years, was the victim of the revenge of a powerful Turkish slave, named Lall Cheen, whom he refused to promote over the heads of the old nobility and who gouged out his master's eyes. After this cruel mutilation he was sent to the fort of Saugor, and his younger brother Shams-ud-din placed on the throne. This lad, who was 15 years of age, intimidated by the fate of his brother, left all the power in the hands of Lall Cheen who commenced an intrigue with the Sultan's mother. Such an usurpation of power excited the jealousy of the surviving sons of Daoud Khan, the elder of whom, Mahomed Sunjer, had been blinded, and the two younger had been married to two daughters of the late Sultan Mahmud Shah. The wives of these two princes incited them to avenge the ill treatment which the unfortunate Ghazi-ud-din had received at the hands of Lall Cheen. Failing in an attempt to achieve their object by force, they resorted to stratagem, and succeeded in obtaining possession of Gulburgah, and putting to death Lall Cheen and his sons, the former being slain by the sword of the blind prince Ghazi-ud-din, before whom he was placed bound. The unfortunate blind man then asked to go to Mecca; and his next brother, Feroze Shah, ascended the throne in 1397. His reign of 25 years saw twenty-four "glorious campaigns." He conquered the greater part of Tellingana and compelled the Rajah of Vijayanagar to give him one of his daughters in marriage. Not far from Gulburgah, this Sultan laid out a new city, which he named, after himself, Ferozabad. It was situated on the banks of the Bheemra. He also developed trade, despatching vessels from the ports of Goa and Choule. His harem contained women of all nations—Arabians, Circassians, Georgians, Turks, Chinese, Afghans,

Rajputs, Bengalis, Guzeratees, Tellinganees, Russians and other Europeans, with each of whom he could converse in her own language. This varied assortment was however, not on so extensive a scale as the zenana of the Hindu Rajah of Vijayanagar, who is recorded to have had 12,000 wives, of whom 4,000 went on foot and served in his kitchen, 4,000 on horseback and 4,000 in litters. Of the last batch, the litter ladies, who may be supposed to have fared best as regards carnal comforts, 2,000 were chosen as wives on condition that they would burn when the king died.

With this drawback to the distinction of being a litter wife, it is no wonder that the beautiful Pertal, the daughter of a Hindoo farmer in the fort of Mudkul, who was both educated and unmarried, declined the honour of being one of the 2,000. The Rajah, however, to whom the report of her beauty had been carried, tried to secure her by invading Mudkul, which was in the possession of Feroze Shah. But, before his army could reach that fort, the inhabitants evacuated it, among them being Pertal and her parents. Feroze Shah on his part laid siege to Vijayanagar. The war that ensued was disastrous to the country, which was laid waste by the king's brother, Ahmed (Khan Khanan), at the head of another army, who captured 60,000 prisoners. Peace, however, had to be sued for by the Hindu Rajah, who secured it only by payment of very large indemnity, and giving his daughter in marriage to the Sultan. After celebration of the marriage with great pomp and magnificence, the Sultan proceeded with his bride to the Hindoo capital; but unfortunately, owing to a violation of etiquette by the Rajah, the breach between the princes was widened. The Sultan returned to his capital and sent for the beautiful Pertal and her family to court, and, finding that he was too old to marry her, gave her to his son, Hassan Khan, in marriage, and the knot was tied with great rejoicing and magnificence. This prince, however, is said to have been weak and dissipated, and did not succeed his father on the throne. In 1417, Feroze Shah made an unprovoked attack on a fort belonging to the king of Vijayanagar, but after a two years' siege was obliged to retire. The Hindoos advanced and inflicted a defeat on the Sultan's forces, and a great slaughter on the Mahomedans, a platform being erected of their heads. Feroze Shah died shortly after and was succeeded by his brother Ahmed, to whom he had formally made over his kingdom and his son. Ahmed Shah gave Hassan Khan the city of Ferozabad as his residence, with an ample revenue.

Ahmed Shah, like his predecessor, encouraged learning and built a college for the holy Syed Geesoo Diras, who had predicted his ascension to the throne. One of his first acts, how-

ever, was to declare war against Vijayanagar. The Rajah, failing to secure the aid of the King of Warangal, was unable to withstand the arms of the Sultan, and, narrowly escaping capture, fled to his capital, while Ahmed Shah devastated the country: and, forgetting the compact entered into with the Rajah by a former Sultan, slaughtered 20,000 Hindoos, besides destroying a number of temples. This provoked the Hindoos to such a degree that they attempted to assassinate the Sultan and nearly succeeded. Meantime the city of Vijayanagar had been blockaded, and the Rajah was compelled to sue for peace, which was granted on condition of all arrears of tribute being paid up. The Sultan next proceeded against the Warangal King, who had withheld his tribute. Warangal itself was taken and the Rajah killed. Other forts were also reduced, and the Tellingana country was incorporated with the Mahomedan kingdom of the Deccan. Warangal was never after this a royal city; and very few remains of its former grandeur exist at the present day. In the following year Ahmed Shah made an expedition into the country of the Ghonds, and came into possession of a diamond mine. His next war was with the Sultan of Malwa, whom he defeated, taking great spoil. On his return from Kurleh, where he was splendidly entertained by the Hindoo Rajah, he halted at the ancient town of Bieder, once the metropolis of a great Hindoo kingdom, and he resolved to build a new city, which was finished in 1431 and called Ahmedabad Bieder. In 1429, Sultan Ahmed sent an expedition into the Konkan and obtained much booty; but in the end his forces met with a severe defeat and great loss. He then went down to the Konkan in person, when a peace was concluded with the Sultan of Guzerat. After this, permitting his old ally, the Hindoo Rajah, to be attacked, killed and despoiled of his territory by the Sultan of Malwa without assisting him, he obtained as a reward of his unworthy conduct, the whole province of Berar. Finally, in an attempt to put down a rebellion in Tellingana, he fell sick and died, in 1434, after a reign of 12 years occupied principally in predatory expeditions.

Ahmed Shah Wully Bahmany was succeeded by his son, Alla-ud-din Shah II, who was crowned at Bieder. He was much attached to his brother, Mahomed Khan; but that prince did not reciprocate the regard, and, when sent against Vijayanagar, conspired with the Rajah to effect a revolution in his own favour. He was, however, overcome in a hard-fought battle, and was not only pardoned, but received the estate of Raichore and its dependencies, where he lived till his death. In 1436, he sent an army to subdue the Konkan, and not only made two Hindu Rajahs pay tribute, but accepted as his wife the daughter of one of them, the Rajah of Lonckhair, a lady

of great beauty, talents and accomplishments, named "*Perichehra*" or *Fairy-face*.* This, however, brought about quarrels with his queen, the daughter of Nusseer Khan, King of Khandesh, who, with the aid of the King of Guzerat, invaded Berar. After two actions, the king of Khandesh was completely overthrown, and Ala-ud-din's general, Mullick-oot-Toojar, returned in triumph to Bieder, now established as the capital of the Bahmany kingdom.

The next event was a war with Deo Rai, Rajah of Vijayanagar, on the old question of tribute. In the first battle in the Raichore Dooab, the Hindoos had the advantage; in the second the Mahomedans: but in the third, two Mahomedan officers of distinction having been taken prisoners, the Sultan threatened the Rajah, should he put them to death, to revenge their deaths with the slaughter of 100,000 Hindoos for each of them. "Such grim threats," says Meadows Taylor, "had not proved vain on former occasions, and there was little occasion to doubt them on the present." So the Rajah wisely proposed peace and agreed to pay tribute as before. The incident, while it may show how highly Ala-ud-din II valued the lives of his officers, also shows how little the Sultan valued human lives when they were those of kafirs, *i.e.*, unbelievers.

"It is pleasing," says the same historian, "to read records of the King's benevolence in erecting and endowing hospitals and of his vigorous prosecution of idle vagabonds and robbers, who were sentenced to hard labour in chains." The Sultan also issued edicts against the use of fermented liquors by others; but indulged largely in wine himself, and gave himself up to a sensual life, to the neglect of affairs of State. Accordingly, to suppress a rebellion in Konkan, he sent Mullick-oot-Toojar, who, being treacherously entrapped in an ambuscade, perished with his whole army.

Disputes between the foreign troops and Deccanics increasing, they were suppressed with vigour by the Sultan but a great number of the former having been massacred at the fort of Chakun, the foundation was laid for those commotions which led to the decay of the dynasty. Returning from another campaign against the King of Guzerat, the Sultan Ala-ud-din died in 1453.

The next Sultan was Humayun, the cruel, who inaugurated his career by blinding and imprisoning his youngest brother, whom it had been attempted to put on the throne. The only good thing this man did was to appoint to the office of chief minister the able and faithful Khwajah Mahmud Gawán,

* Mr. Gribble falls into a mistake common among Europeans, of translating *Peri* by "angel" and renders the name *Angel-faced*. *Peri*, however, means Fairy, as in the text.

who had been steadily rising in public esteem. After a blood-stained course, to which we shall allude more particularly later on, this monster appears to have been got rid of in one of his fits of intoxication. His son, Nizam Shah, succeeded, at eight years of age; but was under a council of regency, among whom were Khwajah Gawán and the Queen-mother. This young king bravely met an invasion of his territory by the King of Malwa, and, though at first defeated, was eventually, with the aid of the King of Guzerat, entirely successful. He died suddenly, in 1463 A.D., after a reign of two years, and was succeeded by his brother, the Prince Mahomed, now nine years of age, under the regency of the Queen-mother and the two Councillors, Jehan Toork and Mahmud Gawán. The latter being employed at a distance, Khwajah Jehan Toork resorted to peculations and other corrupt practices; but he little knew whom he had to deal with. The Queen-mother, whose authority he had usurped, instructed her son, the king, who sat daily in public, to denounce the minister. One day, as the boy took his seat, he cried to one of the nobles, pointing to Jehan Toork:—"That wretch is a traitor; put him to death;" an order instantly obeyed. Mahmud Gawán was now sent for, and to him were committed the executive details of administration. As soon as the young king reached his fourteenth year, he was married; and the Queen-mother, recognising his majority, retired from the regency. This youthful Sultan soon evinced a warlike disposition. He attacked and captured Kehrla, and only gave it up on terms most favourable to himself. Later on, his army, under Mahmud Gawán, invaded and reduced the Konkan. He then undertook, personally, a campaign against Tellingana, and took Condapilly and Rajahmundry. After that he conducted a campaign against the Rajah of Belgaum; and afterwards another expedition into Orissa, reducing the Rajah Nursinga near Masulipatam, and despoiling the great temples of Conjeveram of an immense amount of gold and jewels. The effect of these conquests was the extension of the Bahmany territories from sea to sea. As regards the internal administration of affairs, the credit is due to Mahmud Gawán, who introduced reforms in every department of the State, as well as a new assessment and, in many instances, a survey of the village lands, traces of which remain to this day. But this able and faithful minister was doomed to come to a bad end. Being charged with treason by means of a forged letter, he was ordered to be put to death, in spite of his denial, in the same summary way in which Jehan Toork had been executed. After this iniquitous act, the King, too late, discovered the innocence of his departed minister and was

filled with remorse. But with Mahmud Gáwan departed the cohesion and power of the Bahmany kingdom. His character stands out grandly among all his contemporaries. His unselfish loyalty to his sovereign and the Queen-mother, his skill and bravery in war, his noble and judicious reforms, his justice and benevolence, have, in the aggregate, no equal in the Mahomedan history of India.

Mahomed Shah, afflicted with disease and scared by the reproaches of his own conscience, vainly endeavoured to dispel care by sensual pleasures. He was attacked with fever, and, after recovery, indulged in excessive drinking, which brought on a relapse from which he was partially relieved by his physicians. In their absence, however, he drank again, fell into convulsions and died at Bieder, on 24th March, 1482, exclaiming constantly to the last that Mahmud Gawán was tearing him to pieces.

He was succeeded by his son, Mahmud, then twelve years of age. The power, however, was in the hands of the Deccany noble, Nizam-ul-Mulk Bheiry, the author of the plot by which Mahmud Gawán had been brought to his end. This wily man met Yusuf Adil Khan, the friend and adherent of the murdered minister, as he returned from the expedition to Goa, whither he had been sent by the late Sultan, and the meeting was outwardly friendly. But the latter, himself a Turk and at the head of the Foreign troops, simply retained his military command and would accept of no office, until, in consequence of a plot to attack his troops and put him to death, he retired to his own estate of Bijapore, where we shall hear of him hereafter. Mahmud Gawán was, however, avenged by Pusund Khan the Governor of Bieder, who, faithful to the house of Bahmany, and at the desire of the young king, entered the palace of Nizam Bheiry and strangled him. It was too late, however, to save the kingdom, for Nizam-ul-Mulk's son, Mullik Ahmed, declared his independence and maintained it. The king, however, was imbecile and gave himself up to pleasure, and totally neglected the affairs of State. The Bahmany kingdom lost its finest provinces, and the king became little more than a cipher in the hands of his minister Kasim Bereed, a Turk of great ability and craft. Imad-ul-Mulk made himself King of Berar. On Kasim Bereed's death, his son, Ameer Bereed, became minister, and the king fell into a condition of entire dependence on him. Kutb-ul-Mulk, Governor of Tellingana, declared his independence in 1512, and became King of Golconda. After many vicissitudes and many humiliations, the pageant king died in 1588, and with him the dynasty of the Bahmany Kings virtually ended. For, though four kings of that line succeeded, they either died soon, or were deposed or poisoned, or abdicated, until the year 1526.

The founder of the kingdom of Bijapore, the most powerful and long-lived of all the five, was Yusuf Adil Shah, the first of a noble dynasty. He was the son of Amurath, Sultan of Turkey, who died in 1451. On his death his eldest son, who succeeded him, ordered all the other male children of his father to be destroyed. Yusuf's mother saved her son and made him over to the charge of a merchant of Saweh (or Sava), in Persia, whither he was conveyed; substituting for her son a Circassian slave, who was strangled. The Sultana subsequently sent his old nurse and her son, Guzzunfer Beg, and daughter, Dilshad Aga, who were Yusuf's foster brother and sister and played an important part in history, in after years. He was brought up at Saweh till he was sixteen years old, when he resolved to try his fortune in Hindustan, where he arrived in 1458. Proceeding to Ahmedabad Bieder, he became a Turkish slave in the royal household and eventually master of the house. Then he attached himself to Nizam-ul-Mulk Turk, who adopted him as his brother. This Yusuf Adil Khan was the founder of the Adil Shahi dynasty of Bijapore, which supplanted the house of Bahmany and ruled with splendour in the Deccan for nearly two hundred years.

After the murder of the faithful minister, Khwajah Gawán, by Muhammad Shah, Yusuf declared his independence, in 1485, when he proceeded to Bijapore and had the *Kutba* read in his own name. Here he built the citadel, or Ark-killah, and set himself to complete the defences of his new capital. He was not allowed, however, to maintain his independence, for he had presently to face a combination got up against him by Kasim Bereed, the all-powerful minister of the Bieder Sultan, who incited Timraj, the regent of Vijayanagar, (Beejanugger), by a promise of the Raichore Doab, to attack him on the southwest, secured the co-operation of the King of Ahmednuggur on the north, and of Bahadur Geelany on the west, while he himself was to approach from the east. Yusuf Adil made peace with Timraj, fell upon Bahadur Geelany and drove him back with heavy loss, and then met the combined armies of Bieder and Ahmednuggur, when Kassim Bereed fled to Bieder, and the King of Ahmednuggur made peace and departed. Yusuf, however, had next to encounter Timraj, who coveted the Raichore Dooab and advanced against him with a large army, which, however, after a furious attack by the Bijapore King, broke and fled in all directions, leaving enormous plunder behind—200 elephants, 1,000 horses and 60,00,000 *Oons*, variously estimated at £1,800,000 and £2,500,000 sterling. The plunder was of great service to Yusuf in establishing his new kingdom. This action took place in April, 1493. Two years later, Yusuf Adil Shah assisted Mahmud, King of Bieder, against an Abyssinian eunuch named Dustoor Deenar, Gover-

nor of Gulburgah, who had rebelled. The eunuch was defeated and humbled, but restored to his office, and Gulburgah was selected to celebrate the nuptials of Yusuf's daughter with Mahmud's son Ahmed. On this occasion Yusuf proposed the dismissal of Kassim Bereed from office, on condition that he himself should receive the districts held by Dustoor Deenar. Kassim Bereed resisted, but was defeated. Subsequently a further division of territory was agreed upon in which the kings of Berar and Ahmednuggur shared; but Dustoor Deenar was entirely left out. On this he took the field with his Abyssinians, but was defeated and slain in battle. Yusuf, however, sustained a severe loss in the death of his foster-brother Ghuzzunfer Beg, who died of his wounds in the last desperate charge which decided the action.

In 1502, Yusuf Adil changed the State profession of faith from the Sunnee, or orthodox, to the Sheeah, or heretical, in which he had been brought up in Persia. He allowed every one, however, to follow his own judgment, and so was not opposed in his own dominions. Outside of them, however, a holy war was got up against him by the Kings of Ahmednuggur, Golconda and Berar, with Ameer Bereed of Bieder. The Bijapore King made his way with 6,000 horse to Bieder, plundering the country. His son-in-law, Imad Shah, did not openly espouse his cause; but advised him to restore the Sunnee rites by way of concession. This he did, and the confederacy broke up, each retiring to his own dominion. Adil Shah then promptly attacked Ameer Bereed, who just managed to escape with the Sultan of Bieder and a few followers. This last effort was too much for the great king, who died at Bijapore, of a dropsical complaint.

Thus died the illustrious founder of the Adil Shahi dynasty. In political ability, learned accomplishments and personal bravery, he had no equal. He was perfectly tolerant of all religions, and his consideration for his Hindoo subjects may have been due to the influence of his wife who was the daughter of a Mahratta chief and who embraced Islam under the name of Booboojee Khanum, "whom he loved with a rare affection and to whom he was entirely faithful." He had three daughters, who were married to the three Sultans of Berar, Ahmednuggur and Bieder.

His son, Ismael Adil Shah, was eleven years of age when he succeeded his father, who had appointed Kumál Shah as Regent. This man, plotting with the crafty Ameer Bereed of Bieder, resolved to depose or destroy the young king. His design was, however, frustrated by the Queen-mother, Booboojee Khanum, who procured his assassination through the agency of a faithful adherent, Yusuf Toork, who perished in the attempt.

After this the Queen-mother and her husband's foster sister, Dilshad Agha, were besieged in their palace, by Kumál Shah's son, Sufdur Khan, with 5,000 troops and cannon.

But, obtaining the assistance of a handful of foreign troops still in the fort and city, these brave women held out until Sufdar Khan, who forced the gateway and entered at the head of his troops, was wounded in the eye, when the young king, taking advantage of an opportunity which offered, pushed a heavy stone from the terrace roof above, and killed him on the spot. On this the insurgents dispersed; and in a short time the loyal population rallied round their monarch.

Though a boy in years, Ismael Adil Shah, partly owing to his early experience of difficulty and danger, developed a character for decision, and at once assumed the direction of the government. He dismissed the Deccanies and Abyssinians, whose faithlessness had just been proved, and re-enlisted the Turks and Moghuls who had been discharged; and these, with his father's veterans, soon composed a sufficient army. Ameer Bereed, though discouraged by the death of Kumal Khan, again intrigued and induced the kings of Golconda, Berar and Ahmednuggur to join the Bahmany Sultan in an attempt to uproot the Adil Shahi dynasty. Ismael Adil, however, met Ameer Bereed and Mahmud Shah Bahmany with half the number of men they had, and defeated them at Allapore, and a peace was concluded and his sister Musseety united in marriage to Mahmud Shah's son.

Peace prevailed for five years; but, the Rajah of Vijayanagar having got possession of the Raichore Dooab, which originally belonged to Bijapore, Ismael Adil Shah determined to regain it. In an attempt, however, to cross the river while excited by wine, Ismael nearly lost his life and sacrificed many of his best troops. He was obliged to retreat, but swore an oath never to indulge in wine until this defeat should be avenged.

Soon after this Boorhan Nizam Shah, King of Ahmednuggur, proposed to marry the Sultan Ismael's sister. Beeby Muryam, and the ceremony was performed at the fort of Sholapore which was fixed for her dowry. The concession not having been made immediately, Nizam Shah invaded the Bijapore dominions in 1535, assisted by Ameer Bereed. They were, however, defeated in a general action with great loss. In 1528, they renewed the contest, but were utterly routed by the Bijapore General, Assud Khan, with the loss of their guns and elephants. Very shortly after, the king of Ahmednuggur was attacked by the king of Guzerat, when Ismael Shah helped him with troops and money. It appeared, however, that, while employed in this service, the Bijapore troops had been tampered with by

Ameer Bereed with a view to their joining him in an attack on that city, the long coveted object of his desires. This provoked Ismael Adil Shah beyond endurance, and he proposed to his brother-in-law either to join him and punish the traitor for his ceaseless intrigues, or to remain neutral. The latter alternative being preferred, the Bijapore king invaded the territory of Bieder with 10,000 of his best cavalry—Persians, Tartars, Moghuls and Turks, whose national arm was the bow. On this occasion, however, he had to encounter artillery and musketry, which tested the bravery of his troops to the utmost; the king himself showing an example of personal valour, killing two of the sons of Ameer Bereed who had attacked him in succession. At the close of the action, he had to encounter a fresh contingent of 4,000 Golconda cavalry who had been sent to the assistance of Ameer Bereed, but who were completely defeated by his generals, Syed Hoosein and Assud Khan. The fort of Bieder was then closely invested, and Ameer Bereed wrote to the king of Berar to come to Bieder as a mediator. This Imad Shah did; but nothing would content Ismael Adil but the unconditional submission of Ameer Bereed, who was subsequently captured by Assud Khan in a state of intoxication, and brought in to the king. Ameer Bereed was ordered to execution; but on his entreaty was brought, with the elephant which was to trample him to death, before one of the towers defended by his sons, who, when they saw that their father's life was in real danger, agreed to give up the fort provided they were allowed to depart with their families to Oodgheer. Being allowed to do this, they left Bieder with the most valuable of the crown jewels. Adil Shah and Imad Shah then entered the city in state and seated themselves on the throne. All the treasure found there, money to the amount of half-a-million sterling, jewels and other valuables, was distributed to the soldiery or given in charity; Ismael reserving nothing for himself. He had not made war for booty—the sole object of many of the Moslem kings of the Deccan; but for honour, which was satisfied. Ameer Bereed was pardoned and received an estate as well as the command of 3,000 horse in the Bijapore army, which he accompanied against Raichore on a successful expedition. For this service he was granted the government of Ahmedabad and Bieder, on condition of surrendering Kaleean and Candahar. As soon, however, as the wily old intriguer was at liberty, he forgot to surrender the two forts, and entered into an alliance with Boorhan Nizam Shah of Ahmednugger against Bijapore; but the Sultan was again beaten by Ismael Adil. An alliance was then formed between the two Sultans under which Boorhan Nizam Shah was to add (if he could) Berar to his domin-

ions, and Ismael Adil Shah to conquer what he could of Golconda. Accordingly Ismael Shah, joined by Ameer Bereed, laid siege to Roilconda, one of Kuth Shah's forts, in 1533. Before the fort could be taken, however, Ismael Shah fell ill and died on the way to Gulburgah (1534). Assud Khan at once raised the siege and returned with the body of the king to Bijapore, where, burying the deceased near his father, Yusuf Adil, he installed the eldest of his sons on the throne.

Ismael Adil was prudent, patient and generous; more inclined to forgive than to punish. He was skilled in poetry and music and fond of painting. He was of a literary turn and polished in manners, having been early trained in Turkish and Persian habits and customs.

In accordance with the dying request of Ismael Adil, his eldest son, Mulloo (in whom however, he had no confidence), was raised to the throne by Assud Khan. He was a passionate and licentious youth, and his conduct was so infamous, that his grandmother, Booboojee Khanum, determined that he should be deposed. Having secured the co-operation of Assud Khan, and with the aid of Yusuf Turk, who entered the capital with a large force, Mulloo and his youngest brother were both seized and blinded. The second brother, Ibrahim, was then proclaimed with universal rejoicing.

His first act was to abolish the profession of the Sheeah faith and restore the Soonnee, and to exchange Persian for Mahratta as the language of current business in the state. The foreign troops, the majority of whom were Persians, *i.e.* Sheeahs, were discharged, and their places supplied by Deccanies and Abyssinians. Of the discharged cavalry, 3,000 were taken into the service of the Hindoo Rajah of Vijayanagar. Owing to successive revolutions there, Ibrahim became involved in hostilities with the Rajahs of Vijayanagar; but these were of short duration. Becoming, however, jealous of his minister, Assud Khan, that able and tried officer was induced to retire to his estates—a circumstance which was taken advantage of by Nizam Shah of Ahmednuggur and Ameer Bereed of Bieder, to combine against Ibrahim Adil, and compel him to retire to Gulburgah. From these straits he was released by the instrumentality of the man whom he had suspected, with the assistance of the king of Berar, the king's uncle by marriage. Assud Khan marched to his rescue with a large force, which had the desired effect, and Ameer Bereed's death broke up the confederacy. Shortly after, however, in 1543, a fresh coalition was formed against Bijapore by Nizam Shah of Amednuggur, assisted by Kutb Shah of Golconda and Rajah Ramraj of Vijayanagar. The kingdom was invaded at three points simultaneously; but, through the wise advice and consummate

diplomacy of Assud Khan, peace was made with two of the invaders, and the third, the king of Golconda, was defeated and driven back to his capital. The king of Ahmednugger, however, renewed the war, and marched against Gulburgah with a large army, which was again signally defeated by Assud Khan, who captured 250 elephants, 570 pieces of cannon and all the royal insignia and camp equipage; Ibrahim himself slaying three antagonists in single combat. In the next campaign, however, Boorhan Nizam redeemed his losses, and reduced Ibrahim to serious difficulties. These fluctuations of fortune had an unhappy effect on the mind of Ibrahim, who, suspecting that the cause of his defeats was disaffection on the part of his Hindoo officials, put a number of them to death, and others to torture in the public Square. Some 70 Mahomedans of rank were also executed. This led to a plot to dethrone him and elevate his brother, Abdoolla, to the throne. On the discovery of the conspiracy, Abdoolla fled to Goa, where he endeavoured to persuade the Portuguese Viceroy to assist him with troops, promising him large concessions of territory. This proposal was, however, declined, and the prince addressed himself to the kings of Ahmednugger and Golconda. Meantime the great minister died.

The remainder of the reign of Ibrahim, who, after the demise of his wise counsellor, Assud Khan, degenerated into a licentious tyrant, was occupied with almost perpetual wars and struggles with Ahmednuggur, in which Ramraj of Vijayanagar appears as the active ally of the latter. Boorhan died; but his successor, Hoosein, followed the same policy, and defeated Ibrahim in a severe action near Sholapore. This, with the rebellion of his general, Seif Ein-ul-Mulk, reduced the king's fortunes to the lowest ebb. Latterly he became afflicted with a complication of disorders, put to death, one after another, the physicians who could not relieve him, and died at last miserably in 1447, after a reign of 24 years. He was buried with his father and grandfather at Gôgy.

He was succeeded by his eldest son, Ally Adil Shah, whose first act was to restore the public profession of the Sheeah faith which had been set aside by his father. This became a fertile source of disaffection and of party intrigue. His negotiations with Hoosein Nizam Shah for the recovery of Bijapore territory having failed, he joined Ramraj in an invasion of Ahmednuggur territory, and the Hindoos, revenging themselves for all the outrages they had suffered, behaved with shocking barbarity in the first campaign, and still worse in the second. But Ahmednuggur was not taken and the allies returned. This campaign led to a quadruple alliance of the Mahomedan Sultans against the Hindoo Rajahs, whose power

was now comprehended, and whom no single Sultan was able to oppose in the field. Ally Adil Shah, who first conceived the idea of a league of Moslem Kings against Vijayanagar, sent his minister, Kishwur Khan, to sound the other Kings, and found Hoosein Nizam Shah willing to sink all differences in a crescentade against the Hindoos. To cement the alliance between Bijapore and Ahmednuggur, Hoosein Nizam Shah agreed to give his daughter, the afterwards celebrated Chand Beeby, to Ally Adil Shah in marriage, with Sholapore for her dowry; Adil Shah consenting to give his daughter to Nizam Shah's eldest son, Sultan Murtaza. The holy league included the Sultan of Golconda and Bereed Shah of Bieder. In the year 1564, the four princes met in the plains of Bijapore, and then marched to Tellicotta on the bank of the Kistna. Rama Rajah advanced to defend the passages of the river, with 100,000 foot, 20,000 horse and 500 elephants. After a series of clever feints the allied armies drew the Hindoos away from the only practicable ford, which they crossed without opposition, and drew up their forces in order of battle, Hoosein Shah commanding the centre, Adil Shah the right wing, and Kutb Shah, with Bereed Shah, the left wing. The artillery was fastened together by chains, and drawn up in front of the line, flanked on each side by the war elephants. Rama Rajah, on the other hand, entrusted his left to his brother, Timma Rajah, and his right to his other brother, Vencatadri; whilst he himself commanded in the centre. Two thousand war elephants and one thousand pieces of cannon were placed at different intervals of his line. Rama Rajah, confident of victory, sat on a litter mounted on the back of an elephant; but when he found that the enemy behaved better than he had expected, he descended and sat on a rich throne, and had heaps of money placed around him, with a view to rewarding such of his soldiers as might act well. The Hindoos, inspired by the generosity of their leader, charged furiously, and the right and left of the allies were thrown into disorder. Nizam Shah, however, in the centre, stood firm and pushed the Rajah's centre so vigorously that it began to be confused. Rama Rajah on this again mounted his litter, which was soon after let fall by the bearers, on the approach of a furious elephant: and, before he had time to recover himself, was taken prisoner and carried to the commander of the Mahomedan artillery, who took him to Hossain Shah. That king instantly ordered his head to be struck off and placed upon the point of a long spear, so that his death might be proclaimed to the Hindoos. As was usual in Oriental armies, the Hindoos, seeing that their chief had been killed, fled in the utmost disorder and were pursued with great slaughter, leaving 100,000 slain.

The battle of Tellicotta was a crushing blow to Hindoo rule in South India. The Mahomedans spent five months in plundering Vijayanagar, "although the natives had previously carried away 1,550 elephant loads of money and jewels with above a hundred millions of gold, besides the royal chair which was of inestimable value."* The temples which still remain almost all show traces of this search for plunder. A Venetian traveller who visited the city two years afterwards, found in some parts only tigers and other wild animals, though he speaks of the houses as still standing.

The fall of the kingdom of Vijayanagar relieved the Sultans of the necessity of being constantly prepared for war, and they reduced their armies; but they spent their strength in perpetual struggles with one another, thus making it easier for them subsequently to fall victims to the Emperor of Delhi.

The absorption of Berar in Ahmednuggur, the end of Bijapore, the fall of Ahmednuggur, the overthrow of Golconda, are subjects which cannot be treated within our limits. The spectacle afforded by them before they fell eventually under the power of Aurungzebe was that of an empire in ruins—a fitting close to the rivalries, selfish jealousies and unscrupulous designs of contending Sultans.

We have endeavoured to sketch the Bahmany Mahomedan dynasty from its foundation in 1351 to its close in 1526, a period of about a century and three quarters. After the Bahmany Kingdom was broken up into five kingdoms, the story of Moslem ascendancy in the Deccan has so many cross threads and complications that it would be tedious to follow it in all its details. The main interest, however, seems to revolve round the Adil Shahi dynasty of Bijapore, of whose superiority the other Sultans seemed jealous and impatient, and whom they incessantly attacked. We have accordingly tried to follow the fortunes of the Adil Shahi princes until the time of Ibrahim Adil Shah's return to his capital in 1656, after his last war with Ahmednuggur, from which period, we are told, Bijapore had no special historian—a most significant fact, showing that, when no wars had to be mentioned, there was nothing else worth recording. The history of the other kingdoms, Ahmednuggur, Golconda, Berar and Bieder, presents very much the same features—and what does the tale of Mahomedan ascendancy in the Deccan, previous to its absorption by Aurungzebe, amount to? We shall endeavour briefly to estimate this as fairly as we are able.

It cannot be denied that some of the Sultans were fine characters. Hassan Gangoo Bahmany, the founder of the

* The Portuguese historian, Faria y-Susa, as quoted by Mr. Gribble in his "History of the Deccan," pp 194 and 195.

Bahmany Kingdom, was a just man and a wise administrator, and deserves a high place among the world's great men. Mahmud Shah Bahmany had most enlightened views of the duties of a ruler, and promoted education among his subjects. Yusuf Adil Shah, the founder of the Bijapore Kingdom, ranked high not only as a soldier, but as a statesman—just, humane and tolerant; he was also, according to the lights of that age and country, highly educated, being an elegant writer, and a good judge of verses. He was, further, a patron of art and literature, and spent his money liberally on buildings and public works. His private character was temperate and virtuous. He was the faithful husband of one wife, amidst a society of polygamists and licentious livers. His toleration of other religions, even Christianity, bore good fruit; some of which exists to this day. All the kings of the Adil Shahi dynasty were distinguished for personal courage of a high order, and some of them were remarkable for clemency and moderation. Ahmed Shah of Ahmednuggur left a reputation for extraordinary virtue and self-control. "When he rode through the city he never looked to the right or left, lest his eyes should fall on another man's wife." His noble generosity in an affair of the heart, as shown in the following incident, rivals that of the well-known conduct of Scipio Africanus towards a captive maid, or that imputed to King Solomon in his treatment of the betrothed young shepherdess, *Shelomith*. After the capture of the port of Kaweel, Ahmed Shah saw among his captives a young lady of extraordinary beauty, with whom he fell in love. On learning, however, that she had a husband who was also a prisoner, he not only restored her to him unmolested, but dismissed them both with valuable presents. Among the prime ministers, too, of the Mahomedan Sultans, we find examples of administrative ability, of steady and unswerving loyalty and of uprightness of character, which will compare favourably with any in history. Need we do more than mention the patriarch Seyf-ud-din Ghoree, who ruled the Bahmany Kingdom as prime minister for more than half a century after Gulburgah became its capital, or the loyal martyred Khwajah Mahmud Gawán, whose sagacious counsel served the Bahmany Sultans as long as he lived, and who was true till death, or the brave and faithful Assan Khan, the "loyal old veteran" whose fidelity to Ibrahim Adil Shah resisted all temptations, and whose skill in diplomacy and valour in the field stood an ungrateful master in good stead, until he died of wounds received in his service.

Nor are examples wanting of noble women, distinguished for their high character, singular ability and undaunted courage.

Such was *Booboojee Khanum*, the honoured wife of Yusuf Adil Shah, who proved worthy of her husband's devoted attachment while he lived, and who conducted the barque of the State, after his death, through shoals and breakers, with all skill and firmness during her son's minority. Such also was the chaste, the brave and the beautiful Chand Beeby, whose heroic conduct and surpassing excellence have been duly celebrated in Col. Meadows Taylor's well-known romance, "A Noble Queen."

The personal qualities, however, of individual rulers are no security for just, wise and successful administration, when the rule itself is founded on injustice and oppression. This became apparent at once on the death of the first Bahmany Sultan, Ala-ud din. His successor had scarcely warmed his seat when the Hindoo kings of Vijayanagar and Tellingana refused to send tribute, to which of course the Sultan had no claim founded on right, and demanded the restoration of districts which had been wrested from them. The natural result was bloodshed and further plunder, in the shape of "a subsidy in gold and jewels," exacted from the conquered Hindoos. And even high-souled rulers and such as are ordinarily both just and generous, when wielding despotic power, are not proof against slights to their personal dignity, and this may involve ruin to thousands; as we have seen in the two greatest wars, bloody in their character and desolating in their results, in the time of the same Bahmany king.

The miserable pride and selfish cruelty shown in those wars were manifested by a man who had some good qualities, and who eventually regretted his own conduct. If, however, such consequences followed from the caprice of men of otherwise fair character, what could be expected when a Nero or a Caligula got into power: and that such there were among the Moslem Sultans we cannot help seeing from the examples of Humayun, the cruel, Murtaza, and Mulloo Humayun punished a rebellious garrison of 2,000 men by putting them to death by the most cruel tortures that could be devised. A rebel kotwal "was confined in a cage, and every day some member of his body was cut off, which he was made to eat, until at last he was released by death." The first force despatched against the rebels being defeated, Humayun sent a reinforcement with officers whose wives or children he kept in confinement, swearing he would kill them all unless his troops were victorious. Hassan Khan, his uncle, on whose behalf the rebellion had been raised, and who had been previously blinded, having escaped with his friends, was, by means of a treacherous promise, seized, thrown before a tiger, and torn in pieces. His friends and followers were killed

with every circumstance of cruelty and barbarity in a large Square in *the presence of the Sultan*—the chief rebel, Yusuf Turk, and his seven friends, “were beheaded, and their wives and daughters publicly violated. The whole of the prince’s (Hassan’s) followers, even down to the cooks and scullions, numbering in all seven thousand men, women and children, were then put to death by the most fearful tortures—by sword, axe, boiling oil and water, and every means that cruelty could think of.” (Gribble’s History, page 112).

From the same authority we learn that, to prevent another revolt, almost all the members of the royal family were put to death. The rest of this Sultan’s reign was spent “in practising the most abominable cruelties on the innocent as well as the guilty. He would frequently stop nuptial processions in the street, and, sending for the bride, he would, after deflowering her, send her back to the husband’s house.” His reign did not last more than three years, he having died, some say by assassination—by which despotism is said to be tempered. We have thought it right to represent these revolting details, as without doing so the real nature of Moslem rule in the Deccan could not be understood.

As another illustration of the kind of security to life and property afforded by Moslem rule in the Deccan, we may cite the following account from Mr. Gribble, of the condition of Ahmednuggur under the reign of Murtaza Nizam Shah, who, actuated by unwarranted suspicion of his prime minister, Changiz Khan, ordered that faithful servant to be poisoned, and, finding out his mistake too late, shut himself up in his palace in a fit of disgust and remorse. “During this time his favourite, named Sahib Khan, with a band of depraved associates, committed all kinds of excesses in the city, not scrupling to seize the daughters and even the sons of noblemen for the vilest purposes. One nobleman of ancient family was even killed, while protecting the honour of his daughter, and another was ordered to change his name because it happened to be the same as that of the insolent favourite.”

Similarly, under the infamous and licentious Mulloo Khan of Bijapore, who was thoroughly vicious and had given himself up to reckless debauchery, a nobleman of high rank was grossly insulted by a proposal so vile that he treated it with the contempt it deserved. On this a body of followers was sent to bring away his head. These were beaten off, but the nobleman had to retire to his estates until the Sultan’s grand-mother, the illustrious Booboojee Khanum, espoused his cause and encouraged him to rebellion, and to resort not exactly to the extreme remedy of assassination, but to the milder one of blinding. Accordingly, Mulloo and his youngest brother were both deprived of their eyesight.

Incidents like these afford a clear insight into the character of Mahomedan rule, and the thorough insecurity of life and honour under its Upas shade. Assassination, and often open murder, were usual incidents in the history of their Kings and Courts. Blinding seems to have been resorted to without the smallest scruple, whether to put a stop to the wicked courses of bad characters, or to put a dangerous rival out of the way. Sultans themselves were disposed of summarily by that cruel process. Thus the young Prince Mahomed Sunjer, a mere child (as we have seen), was blinded by the Princess Rûh Parwar Ageh; the young Sultan Ghazi-ud-din by the quondam slave, Lall Cheen; Prince Shums-ud-din by Sultan Feroz Khan; Prince Hassan Khan by the Sultan Humayun; and the Sultan Mulloo and his brother by order of the Dowager-Queen Booboojee Khanum.

While, the Bahmany Kingdom lasted, there was at least strong rule and security against internal feuds and civil war. But after the dissolution of that kingdom into five states, we have incessant strife among the Mahomedan Sultans in which all were more or less implicated. We may well suppose, therefore, that whatever of solid benefit was derived from Moslem rule in the way of internal tranquillity, must be looked for during the existence of the Bahmany dynasty as sole rulers of the Deccan. We shall allow Meadows Taylor, the enthusiastic admirer of that dynasty, to speak its praise: He says—

“On reviewing the events of the dynasty of the Bahmany Kings of the Deccan, and notwithstanding the early cruelties to the Hindu inhabitants of Beejanagger, in the reign of Mahomed Shah I, it is evident they were on the whole, considerate to their Hindu subjects, and governed them with moderation. The reign of Mahmood Shah I was one of entire peace, and evidently one of much progress and improvement in civil administration; while throughout the whole period of 179 years, foreign and domestic trade had flourished. The aim of the Mahomedan historians of the Deccan was more directed to the record of war, and of political events and intrigue, than of the transactions of peaceful years; but, notwithstanding this, there are occasional pleasant glimpses of quiet times and their beneficial effects which are not to be found in the records of Dehly. Of the details of the government of the country little is apparent. It does not appear that the Hindus were employed in public affairs, but it is evident that their ancient system of corporate village government and district administration was not interfered with, and became strengthened by use.”

Under the regency of Mahmud Gawân, payment of the revenue in kind was commuted to a money payment on the value of the land. The country is supposed by Meadows Taylor to have been as well cultivated and populated as it is at present; and, relying on the report of Athanasius Nitikin, a Russian Armenian, who, in 1470, visited Bieder, he says that—

“There were villages at every coss, or two miles, about the present complement, the land was laid out in fields, and the ground well tilled; the roads were well guarded and travelling secure.”

Although Meadows Taylor admits that the architecture of the Bahmany dynasty is not remarkable, "and that the royal mausoleums at Gulburgah are heavy, gloomy buildings," and that the basaltic trap used in their construction did not perhaps invite more finished work; yet, he says, the Moslems introduced a new style of architecture into the country. He gives also a glowing description of their remarkable and beautiful fortresses, their noble and spacious palaces, and their royal mausoleums.

But in an estimate of Mahomedan administration with reference to the subject populations, how do such structures count? The fortifications were for their own safety and security; the palaces were comfortable and enjoyable residences for their own royalty and nobility; and the mausoleums were intended to perpetuate the memory of the Mahomedan kings whose remains they covered. They speak nothing for the beneficent character of their rule, or the permanent benefits conferred thereby. The mosques were imposing structures for their own convenience in worship; but we cannot forget the beautiful Hindoo temples which they destroyed everywhere, professedly in their zeal against idolatry,—really to appropriate the treasures concealed in them. As regards the ground being well tilled, this was only a continuance of the agricultural industry of the Hindoos, who were then and are still the cultivators of the soil. The Mahomedans, as a rule, have never taken to agriculture. And, as to the roads being well guarded and travelling secure in 1470, when the Armenian Nitikin visited Bieder, the residence of the fallen house of Bahmany, it can relate only to that capital and its immediate vicinity, which was all the territory that remained to them; and, as the testimony of a casual visitor, it must weigh even less than that of the globe-trotters and travellers of our day, whose reports of India are so misleading. Only a resident of the country is competent to tell of the security to life and property which exists under any foreign rule. We have had glimpses, in the course of our article, of the nature of the security enjoyed by the unfortunate subjects of Moslem rule.

Let the Bahmany Sultans, however, as well as the noble Adil Shahi and Nizam Shahi dynasties of Bijapore and Ahmednuggur, and the Imad Shahi Sultans of Berar, as well as the house of Kutb-ul-Mulk of Golconda have all the credit they can claim as regards the centres of civilisation which they created in the shape of *cities*—those rallying points for civilised life, stated occupations, and productive industry. GULBURGA, the capital of the Bahmany kingdom, still exists as a considerable town "carrying on a large trade in cotton and oil-seeds with Sholapore and

Bombay." BIJAPORE, founded by Yusuf Adil Shah, and for nearly two centuries "mistress of the Deccan," with its Ark-killah or citadel; its palaces, arches, tombs and minarets; its fountains and gardens; inspires reverence, even in its ruins, for the kingly dynasty whose capital it was. AHMEDNUGUR, built by Ahmed Nizam Shah about the year 1293, is said by the Mahomedan historian, Ferishta, to have "rivalled in splendour Bagdad and Cairo." ELLICHPORE, the capital of the Imad Shahi dynasty of Berar, is still a city of importance. GOLCONDA, once the capital of Tellingana provinces, became eventually the headquarters of Kuli Kutb-ul-Mulk, who so strengthened its fortifications that it resisted the whole of Aurungzebe's army, and was won only by treachery. Yet it must not be forgotten that these cities only replaced the splendid old Hindoo cities of Deogiri, Warangal and Vijayanagar, which the Moslems destroyed. Even Bijapore lay near the Hindoo city of Bijapore. Allowing to the capital of the illustrious Adil Shahi dynasty all the glory due to its architectural features, and its wonderful channel, which, in addition to the fountains in the city, brought water from Torvi, three miles to the west and is a "vast work of no slight engineering skill;" not forgetting the reservoirs at Afzulpur and elsewhere which gathered the waters from the hills to supplement the water supply of the city—these were all made by the Mahomedans for their "own comfort and convenience." They were not irrigation works for the benefit of the subject populations, such as existed in the Hindoo kingdoms, and were allowed by the Mahomedan conquerors to go to ruin. Of them the historian of the Deccan writes as follows: Speaking particularly of the thinly populated country round Warangal, Mr. Gribble makes the following general remarks:—

"It must, however, at one time have been thickly populated but also highly cultivated. It is covered with the remains of old irrigation works which are every where to be found in the old Hindoo kingdoms, but which, under Mahomedan rule, were allowed to fall into ruin. About 25 miles from Warangal is one of the largest artificial lakes in India, which is thus described in the same work.* *Pakhal*—a lake situated close to a village of the same name in latitude $17^{\circ} 57' 30''$ north and $79^{\circ} 59' 30''$ east Longitude. The lake or tank is some 12 miles square. It is enclosed on all sides, except the west, by ranges of low and densely wooded hills. The western side is closed by a strongly constructed 'bund.' Tradition alleges the bund to have been constructed 1,600 years ago by Rajah Khaldya, and a stone pillar which stands on the bund contains an illegible inscription which is said to commemorate the name of the person who built it. The bund is about a mile in length. The average depth of the water in the lake is between 30 and 40 feet. * * * * * The Pakhal lake has been made by throwing a bund across a river which has cut its way over a western out-crop of the Vindhya."

* "Historical and Descriptive Sketch of the Nizam's Dominions," by S. Hoosain Belgrami and C. Willmott.

It is described by Mr. King of the Geological Survey, as "a splendid sheet of water" lying back in two arms on either side of a big hill, from which low bays reach up behind low ridges of out-cropping Vindhya. On every side is far stretching jungle; even below the bund is the thickest and densest jungle, broken by a few patches of rice cultivation. For six or seven months in the year the neighbourhood of the lake is very unhealthy. Now what comparison is there, we ask, between the small drains and reservoirs of the Torvi water-course which supplied a Mahomedan city (Bijapore) and the magnificent expanse of the Pakhal lake, which irrigated the country of Tellingana in the days of old Hindu rule, covered with a numerous agricultural people? "The vast jungle," says Mr. Gribble, "(which is now reserved by H. H. the Nizam for sporting purposes) has all grown up since the destruction of the Hindoo kingdom. What is now a marshy, unwholesome forest was probably at one time a large expanse of rice fields."

What a picture does this afford of the desolating effects of Mahomedan rule, suggesting the desolation of the villages in Hampshire, by William the Norman to create the new forest as a preserve for his game.

Giving full credit and their due mead of praise to individual Sultans whom we have named and distinguished in the short sketch we have attempted, for their clemency, magnanimity and generosity, the system of the administration of justice was both barbarous and cruel. The will of the reigning Sultan was law, and his vengeance fell with swiftness on any whom he regarded, however unreasonably, as guilty and unworthy to live, while the punishments were marked with a cruelty and malignity more worthy of North American savages than of civilised rulers. Let us look at them for a moment. Trampling under the feet of elephants; tearing to pieces by dogs and even tigers; impaling or flaying alive; putting to death by scalding oil or other most excruciating tortures; cutting to pieces bit by bit and even making the victim eat the fragments of his own body so cut off; dishonouring the female relatives of the miserable offender after his death or before his eyes; ramming living bodies into cannon and blowing them off with gunpowder—these were nearly all, recognised punishments under the rule of the Moslem Sultans of the Deccan; not merely cruelties resorted to in private revenge or for personal wrongs, but public and authorised methods of punishment. What must have been the public feeling they fostered, or the public opinion which they formed? Could a single one of the forms of torture or death we have glanced at, be permitted in any Native State under the suzerainty of Her Majesty? Let those who decry British rule look at

the aspect of things faintly portrayed in the history of Moslem rule in the Deccan, and pronounce an honest verdict upon the character of the times preceding our advent into the country. Now and again a high-souled Sultan towered above his times, and ruled righteously and wisely ; and as frequently able Viziers, of loyal hearts and patriotic spirits, conducted the administration with benefit to all classes and credit to themselves. But in general Moslem politics meant court intrigues and wicked plots involving blinding opponents, or despatching them by the dagger, poisoning or other means more appropriate. In a word, it was a game of hazard among desperate players, actuated by ambition, avarice, revenge or passions even baser, who cared nothing for the responsibilities of government or the welfare of the people.

T. C. L.

ART. V.—AKBAR AND THE PARSEES.

WHEN the Emperor Akbar, disappointed with the faith of Islam professed by his fathers and by the State, started on an earnest enquiry after the best religion for men, he resolved to examine all the existing creeds that he could, and bestow patient toil on the discovery of the truth. If he could not discover any one among the existing religions which could satisfy his need, he resolved to find out the true elements in each, and, combining them together, to set up a new faith. For this purpose he assembled the representatives of many sects and various creeds at his court, and built a special palace for their meetings, called the Ibadat-Khana, at Fatehpur-Sikhri. There he himself presided over their discussions, encouraging everyone to come out with his views without fear of repression. All the great religions of the world were represented before the Emperor. First and foremost was, of course, Islam, the nominal State religion, whose learned doctors naturally disliked such discussions and had scant sympathy with the enlightened object of their Emperor. They had, however, to be present and argue, as best they might and could, the excellence of their religion above all others, and refute the claims of rival creeds. Used hitherto to be treated with special favour at court and to look down upon these creeds with contempt and intolerance, they did not always behave well under these novel circumstances, and betook themselves to strange methods of defence. This led on occasions to great confusion and uproar, when the meetings had to be adjourned to let the heated passions cool down. Even the Emperor's presence was at times not respected, and the bigoted Ulemas taunted and threatened his trusted advisers like Abu Fazl, Faizi, and Bir Bal, whom they held responsible for all his religious vagaries, in the face of their royal master. One of these, a grandee named Shahbaz Khan, once said openly to Bir Bal at one of these meetings: "You cursed infidel, do you talk in this manner? It would not take me long to settle you!" Whereupon the Emperor scolded him in particular, and all the other Ulemas in general, saying: "Would that a shoeful of excrement were thrown into your faces!"*

* Badaoni, *Muntakhab-al-Tawarikh*, Calcutta edition by Moulvi Agha Ahmed Ali, vol. ii., p. 273.

There are two essays on Akbar's religion, viz., Vans Kennedy's in the *Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay*, 1818, and Prof. H. H. Wilson's in *Calcutta Oriental Magazine*, 1826. Kennedy had not got Badaoni before him but relied on an extract from that historian given in a later

Then there were the expounders of Hinduism, the faith of the vast majority of Akbar's Indian subjects. He listened attentively to their doctrines and favoured their views. He not only discussed with them in public, but saw them privately in his palace, and was influenced much by them. The historian, Badaoni, gives a curious instance of how the Emperor used to receive these men. "A Brahman named Debi," says he, "who was one of the interpreters of the Mahabharata, was pulled up the walls of the castle sitting on a *charpoi* till he arrived near a balcony which the Emperor had made his bed-chamber. Whilst thus suspended, he instructed his Majesty in the secrets and legends of Hinduism, in the manner of worshipping idols, the fire, the sun, the stars, and of revering the chief gods of these unbelievers."*

Akbar's surroundings, his Rajput wives, his Hindoo advisers, and generals like Todar Mal and Bir Bal, his taste for Sanskrit literature and philosophy, which he had translated into Persian, made him lean considerably towards Hinduism. Buddhism, too, was brought to his notice and was also not without influence upon him. Professor Max Müller says that "Abul Fazl, the minister of Akbar, could find no one to assist him in his enquiries respecting Buddhism."† But Badaoni says distinctly that "Samanas" were interviewed by Akbar along with the Brahmans. Now these "Samanas" are rightly interpreted by Professor Cowell and Mr. Lowe as Buddhist ascetics, "Shramanas," in fact. Prof. Max Müller himself seems to have conjectured this, as he puts this query to the word of Badaoni on p. 90: "Is not Sumani meant for Samana, *i.e.*, Shramana"? The cause of his hesitation seems to be the misinterpretation of Blochmann, who, following Arabic dictionaries, calls them "a sect in Sind who believe in the transmigration of souls (*tana-suk.*)"‡

Besides Mahomedans, Hindoos and Buddhists, Akbar took great care to have the representatives of the great Christian faith of which he had heard. He requested the Portuguese authorities at Goa to send him missionary priests who could expound the mysteries of their faith. Learned and pious priests were accordingly sent from Goa to Akbar's court. An account of their travels and mission may be read in Hugh Murray's "Discoveries in Asia" (vol. ii). But the best account

Indian compilation (Bombay 1869) the *Gool-e-Rana*. Wilson was the first to use Badaoni. I have not used either, or Rehatsek's imperfect translation of passages from Badaoni, because I have gone to the original sources themselves.

* Badaoni, Calcutta edition, vol. ii., p. 257. Lowe, p. 265.

† *Introduction to Science of Religion*, p. 24.

‡ *Ain-i-Akbari*, vol. i., p. 179.

of what they did at the Mogul court, and of their influence on the monarch, is doubtless that contained in the work of the Jesuit Father Catrou, who based his "History of the Mogul Empire" on the manuscript Memoirs of the Venetian physician, Manucci, who resided for 48 years at the Mogul court. I am glad to be able to state that my friend Mr. Archibald Constable who has given us a scholarly edition of Bernier, is going to edit the complete work of Catrou from a rare manuscript which he has recently secured. Bartoli's Italian History is also very important in this connection. Akbar's attitude towards Christianity is a very interesting problem, not free from uncertainty and doubt, and may be treated on another occasion. The Mahomedan historian notes that "learned monks also came from Europe, who are called *Padre*, and have an infallible head, called *Papa*, who is able to change religious ordinances as he may deem advisable for the moment, and to whose authority kings must submit, brought the Gospel and advanced proofs for the Trinity. His Majesty firmly believed in the truth of the Christian religion, and, wishing to spread the doctrines of Jesus, ordered Prince Murad to take a few lessons in Christianity under good auspices, and charged Abul Fazl to translate the Gospel.*"

There were, moreover, Jews, Sufis, Shiahs, Hanefites, and various other religious and philosophical sects represented before Akbar, who wanted to listen to all, theologian and philosopher, orthodox and heterodox, heretic and schismatic, rationalist and mystic, to know every shade of opinion, to receive every ray of light that he could obtain from any quarter.

There was one religion which was distinguished by its great and hoary antiquity as well as its purity, which, if it could only attract the royal enquirer's notice, could not but influence him greatly, owing to its conformity with much of Akbar's object. That was the ancient religion of Zoroaster, which, after a long spell of persecution, had been driven out of its home in Persia to seek a shelter in a corner of Akbar's dominions. This religion was historical and must have forced itself on his notice in several ways. "Notwithstanding their paucity," says Count de Noer, the German historian of Akbar, "and political insignificance, the opinions of the Parsees exercised considerable influence on the great minds of India towards the close of the 16th Century."†

What Akbar did to get acquainted with this religion, and what was his attitude towards it, are the questions I propose now to consider. That he came to know this religion and some of its chief doctrines, is certain. But how far

* Badaoni, vol. ii., p. 260 ; Lowe, p. 267.

† *Emperor Akbar*, vol. I., p. 21, (I quote from Mrs. Beveridge's excellent translation, which is in many respects superior to M. Maury's French.)

he was influenced by it, and how much of it he adopted in the new faith that he constructed, is problematical. There is a tradition among the Parsees themselves that a priest of theirs had been called from Naosari in Guzerat to Akbar's court under strange circumstances, and that he so far succeeded in forcing upon the Emperor's mind the truth and excellence of his religion as actually to convert him to the Parsee faith by investing him with the sacred shirt and thread-girdle, *sudreh* and *kusti*, the outward sign of adopting that faith. The circumstances under which this priest, whose name was Mehrjee Rana, was called to Akbar's court were these exceedingly strange ones, according to the tradition. A Hindoo priest, deeply versed in the arts of magic and sorcery, Jugut Guru by name,* once performed a miracle in the presence of the Emperor and his court, by sending up and suspending a large silver plate high in the sky, which looked like another sun shining in the heavens, and challenged the professors of all the religions assembled to take this new sun down, and test the power of their faiths. Akbar, of course, called upon the Ulemas to do this and refute the Hindoo. But they could not do it themselves. Hence they were in anxious search of some one who could do this and disgrace the infidel. They were told that a priest in Naosari could do this, if he were called. At their suggestion Akbar sent for him. He came; he saw; he conquered. By reciting his prayers and by other incantations he broke the power of the Hindoo's magic, and the pseudo-sun came down, plate as it was, and fell at Akbar's feet! Akbar was astonished, as well he might be. The Parsee priest was received with awe. He expounded his faith to Akbar, and convinced him so well as to make him a Parsee. This is the Parsee tradition, long cherished by the people, and circulated in various forms in prose and verse. There are some poems about this triumph of Mehrjee Rana, sung by Khialis, or itinerant minstrels, and others in Guzerat and Bombay.†

But now as to the validity of this tradition. After a diligent search I can find no historical proof of it whatever. None of the numerous great histories of this reign notice it at all; and it need hardly be said that, if such a highly improbable, if not impossible, event happened at all, it must have been mentioned and detailed by the writers who are generally very fond of relating the marvellous. Badaoni, who mentions

* *Sic* in the tradition; but of course Jagat Guru is a title assumed by the heads of various Hindu sects.

† These poems, which are mere doggerel, were composed, I find on enquiry, by hireling rhymesters a generation or two ago, as may be seen from the language in which they are written. There were several such professional rhymesters who composed any number of such doggerel verses in praise of any body who paid them for their labour.

many other so-called miraculous or thaumaturgic feats of *jogis* and Mahomedan saints, as for instance that of the *Anuptalao*, the lake filled with copper coin, does not say a word about this. There is nothing about it in the *Dabistan*, the other great authority for Akbar's religious history. Neither the Akbar Nama of Abul Fazl, the official history, nor the excellent Tabakat-i-Akbari of Nizam-ud-din, mentions it. Nay, not even the name of Mehrjee Rana, the Parsee priest, occurs anywhere in any historical work as having gone to Akbar's court at all.

A paper has been put into my hands by the present descendants of this Mehrjee Rana, who still live in Naosari, in which what are called historical authorities are given for the above-mentioned tradition. The writer of this quotes what purport to be passages from three famous historians of Akbar, viz., Badaoni, Abul Fazl, and the author of the Tabakat-i-Akbari, in each of which the tradition is fully and emphatically mentioned. But, strange to relate, I do not find just those passages in these historians! They are conspicuous by their absence in the excellent editions of Badaoni and Abul Fazl published by the Bengal Asiatic Society in the *Bibliotheca Indica*! The copyist says that they are to be found in the copies at Agra, from which a Mahomedan Munshi had transcribed them for the information of the Parsees. But this may be dismissed as an instance of interpolation on the part of that Munshi, very likely a forgery by the copyist himself. If passages are wanted in Persian manuscripts, there is nothing so certain as that they will appear anyhow! One who has any experience of Persian historians and their manuscripts will readily understand this. Sir Henry Elliot, who knew them all intimately, mentions several instances of impudent and interested frauds by Persian compilers, and warns us to be on our guard against "the blunders arising from negligence and ignorance; the misquoting of titles, dates and names; the ascription to wrong authors; the absence of beginnings and endings; the arbitrary substitution of new ones to complete a mutilated manuscript; the mistakes of copyists; the exercise of ingenuity in their corrections and of fancy in their additions."†

Let us now look to the historical sources for the reign of Akbar about his relation to the Parsees. Abul Fazl, as is well-known, has only one short chapter, Ain 77, book i, on Akbar's religious opinions. He does not dilate on them in his great work, because he meant to write a special treatise on this subject. But that treatise unfortunately he did not live to write. The fullest account of his religious views may be obtained,

† *Historians of India*, vol. I, p. 11, ed. 1848 Vol. I, p. 18, ed. Dowson, 1867.

and their progress traced, in the great work of Abdul Kader Badaoni. The only passage in his whole work where he mentions the Parsee religion is this:—"Fire-worshippers also came from Naosari in Gujarat, proclaimed the religion of Zardusht as the true one, and declared reverence to fire to be superior to every other kind of worship. They also attracted the Emperor's regard, and taught him the peculiar terms, the ordinances, the rites and ceremonies of the Kaianians. At last he ordered that the sacred fire should be made over to the charge of Abul Fazl, and that, after the manner of the Kings of Persia, in whose temples blazed perpetual fires, he should take care it was never extinguished night or day, for that it is one of the signs of God, and one light from the many lights of His creation."*

The author of the "Dabistan," the famous book on the various religious and philosophical sects of the time in Asia, which may be called a veritable encyclopædia of Oriental religions, gives a fuller and more detailed account. "In like manner," he says, "the fire-worshippers, who had come from the town of Naosari, situated in the district of Gujrat, asserted the truth of the religion of Zoroaster and the great reverence and worship due to fire. The Emperor called them to his presence, and was pleased to take information about the way and lustre of their wise men. He also called from Persia a follower of Zardusht, named Ardeshir, to whom he sent money; he delivered the sacred fire with care to the wise Shaikh Abul Fazl, and established that it should be preserved in the interior apartment by night and day, perpetual henceforth according to the rule of the Mobeds, and to the manner which was always practised in the fire-temples of the Kings of Ajem, because the *Iti Set* was among the sentences of the Lord,† and light from among the lights of the great Ized. He invited likewise the fire-worshippers from Kirman to his presence, and questioned them about the subtleties of Zardusht's religion; and he wrote letters to Azer Kaivan, who was a chief of the Yezdanian and Abadanian, and invited him to India. Azer Kaivan begged to be excused from coming, but sent a book of his composition in praise of the self-existing being, of reason, the soul, the heavens, the stars, and the elements, as well as a word of advice to the King; all this contained in fourteen sections; every first line of each was in Persian pure *deri*, when read invertedly it was Arabic, when turned about, Turkish, and when this was read in reversed order, it became Hindi."‡

* Vol. ii, 261, Cal. ed.; W. Lowe, p. 269.

† *Sic* in Shea and Troyer. There is a slight discrepancy here between the original and the translation, but this is quite immaterial for our purpose.

‡ Troyer and Shea, vol. iii., pp. 95-6.

This shows clearly that the priest Ardeshir of Kerman took a prominent part in leading Akbar to Parseeism. The discussions at Akbar's court between the various religious and philosophical sects were carried on with ability; and, to judge from the specimens of them that we have in this *Dabistan*, and also in the *Akbar Nama*, their representatives must have been learned men. The arguments brought forward by the various disputants show great acumen and knowledge, and I do not think that an obscure priest in a corner of Guzerat would have been able to take part in discussions showing such skill and dialectical ability. They show a knowledge of other religions and other general information about history and philosophy which it is vain to look for in a priest of Naosari. Ardeshir was, on the contrary, known as a learned doctor of Zoroastrianism and; he was considered of importance enough to be invited all the way from Kerman in Persia, and it is recorded in the *Dabistan* that money for his travelling expenses was sent by Akbar.* Another circumstance also points to this. Ardeshir was invited some years after Mehrjee Rana is supposed to have gone to the Mogul Court. This shows that Akbar must have been dissatisfied with the priests from Naosari whom Badaoni mentions, and, seeing that they could not teach him much, determined to go further afield and invite Ardeshir and other Parsees from Kerman† Mehrjee Rana may have gone to Akbar's court, as his family possesses a grant of 300 *bigahs* of land from the Mogul court, said to have been given by Akbar to Mehrjee on his departure from Delhi.‡ But that he took any great part in the religious and philosophical discussions that were carried on in the Emperor's presence, cannot be maintained. Badaoni, as well as the *Dabistan*, merely says that fire worshippers came from Nassari and does not single out any one of them as having done anything noteworthy.

* *Vide* Blochmann in *Jour. Ben. Asiat. Soc.*, 1868, p. 14.

† The Editor of the *Fat'h-i-Jehangiri*, prepared under the orders of Akbar, says that Ardeshir was deeply versed in the lore of the Parsees and was a great scholar of the Zend Avesta. Now the fact that he was specially invited all the way from Persia clearly shows that the Parsi priests of Guzerat who had previously been to Akbar's court were found wanting in any knowledge of the meaning of the Avesta. This is proved also by the general state of ignorance in which the Indian Parsees then were steeped.

‡ The testimony of this grant, too, is very doubtful, as it is not in the name of Mehrjee Rana, but of his son, and was granted several years after that priest's death. The services for which it was given are also not mentioned in it, and the land may have been given for services quite other than those pretended by the priest's family. Now, as Mehrjee Rana's name is not mentioned in any historical book whatever, and is not found even in this family grant, the mainstay of his family's pretended claim to his having worked the miracle and converted Akbar, I am disposed to doubt the fact of his having ever gone to Akbar's court.

Then where is the reason for exalting Mehrjee above his fellow-travellers? And then who were those other persons who had gone from Nassari to Delhi? Nasari itself stood in need of religious enlightenment three centuries ago, and could not be supposed to spare much of it for Delhi. Akbar must, out of curiosity have called Parsees from his own recently conquered province of Guzerat for information, but, seeing that he could not get much out of them, he had to call others from Persia. This, I think, is a legitimate inference.*

The state of the Parsees of Guzerat in those times abundantly confirms this inference, that none of them could have possessed the requisite ability to take any part in the learned and philosophic discussions of the Ibadatkhana. We have some historical records which prove clearly that their standard of knowledge was very low and that there were no men among them of even ordinary learning. They were a down-trodden people among unsympathetic aliens, entirely absorbed in obtaining a decent livelihood. This very Mehrjee Rana and his family were farmers, supporting themselves by tilling the ground. The clergy and the laity were alike ignorant and indifferent. The Parsee historical manuscripts called *Revayets*, of which there are extant a goodly number—enable us to judge of the state of knowledge among these people during the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. They lay bare a state of the grossest ignorance about religion and even its most ordinary and elementary matters. It is a matter of notoriety among Parsees that for centuries their ancestors in Guzerat knew very little about their religion. The compiler of the *Parsee Prakash*† is constrained to say, under year 1478 :

* Persia, the original home of the Zoroastrian religion, was the place from which the ignorant Parsees of India themselves sought and obtained information and knowledge of their own religion during the fifteenth, sixteenth and following centuries. *Vide* Anquetil du Perron, *Zend Avesta*, Tome Ier. p. cccxxiii. Prof. Max Müller also supports the same inference about Ardeshir. "We have," says he, "the Zendavesta, the sacred writings of the so called fire-worshippers, and we possess translations of it far more complete and far more correct than any that the Emperor Akbar could have obtained from Ardeshir, a wise Zoroastrian whom he invited from Kerman to India."—*Science of Religion* p. 24.

† This work in Gujrati is a compilation in the form of annals, and is based upon materials which are selected and used uncritically. It is, by no means, an authoritative work, but one which must be consulted with great caution and judgment. So far as it is based on solid authenticated facts, it is reliable. But in many instances its authorities are doubtful. For instance, much of the information about the early history of the Parsees in Nasari, Gujrat, is derived from a manuscript book which purports to be a *copy* of original documents, written by an interested party. The compiler of these annals, *Parsee Prakash*, had not seen the original documents, which are not accessible. Hence, he had to rely on the mercy of this copyist, who has put in things laudatory of his family and party.

"After their arrival in India from Persia, the Parsees day by day grew in ignorance of their religion and ancient customs and traditions, and in religious matters they were very unenlightened." Their ignorance was so great that they at last tried the expedient of sending messengers to Persia, asking information about religious matters from the Zoroastrians in Persia, who were kind enough to answer these queries. The first letter of religious information thus received was in 1478 and is very curious. In it information is given about the most elementary points of religious observances in which the Parsees of Naosari and Guzeerat were found wanting. And such is the ignorance of the priesthood of Naosari about their sacred languages and writings that the Dasturs of Persia recommend them to send "a couple of priests to Persia in order to learn Zend and Pahlavi and thereby be able to know their religious practices." * After 1478, frequent letters were sent to Persia, and the answers received from the Dasturs, were recorded and treasured up in what are called *Revayets*. For instance, in a letter sent in 1527, the famous "Ardai Viraf Nama," which contains the Parsee traditional representation of heaven and hell, was transmitted to India, as no copy existed there of even this famous book.† In 1559, many more books were asked for from Broach and sent there by the Dasturs of Persia‡ Even as late as 1627, a copy of the "Vispered" was asked for from Persia.§ Even the *Vendidad*, one of the most important parts of the Parsee sacred writings, which had originally been brought by the refugee Parsees to India, was lost by their descendants, who had to do without it for a long time, till Ardeshir, a Persian priest from Sistan, came to Guzerat, about the beginning of the thirteenth century, and gave them a copy, which they translated and from which all their modern copies are derived.|| Jamasp Hakim Vilayati, another learned Persian priest, says, in the preface to his Pahlavi Furhang (MSS. Moolla Firoze Library, app. 2, No. 3), that the

The interpolated passages from the Persian historians to which I have alluded above are also to be found transcribed in this manuscript copy of supposed original documents. For historical purposes such a book is worthless, as anybody can pass off any book of documents as copied by him from the originals. The industry of the compiler of this *Parsee Prakash*, Mr. Bomanji B. Patel, in culling information from old files of newspapers is, however, great and commendable. To the historian with the critical faculty in him, this compilation will prove a good mine of materials; but it is of very little authority in itself.

* *Revayet of Barjor Kamdin* Manuscript, No. 353 Moolla Firoze Library, Bombay, p. 335.

† *Revayet of Kamdin Khambatti*, p. 67.

‡ *Revayet of Barjor Kamdin*, p. 343.

§ *Revayet of Darab Hormuzdyar*, p. 455.

|| Anquetil du Perron, *Zend Avesta* Tome I, pte. I p. cccxxiii. Cf. Westergaard, vol. I *Zend Avesta* p. x, also Geldner *Avesta*, 1896, p. xviii

Parsees of Guzerat had to do without the *Farokhshi*, another most important sacred book, for nearly 1,000 years, till he gave them a copy of it in 1722.*

There is still stronger contemporary evidence of the state of gross ignorance of Parsees, priests and laity alike, of Naosari and other parts of Guzerat, in the sixteenth century, the very age of this Mehrjee Rana. This is in a book written in the thirties of the sixteenth century by a Parsee from Hormuzd in Persia, giving a straightforward and true account of what he saw during his travels in Naosari and the neighbouring cities. He was accompanied by another Persian, and both of them were merely lay merchants and not very learned at all. Yet even they were shocked at the gross ignorance of their faith in which the Parsees of Guzearat were then hopelessly steeped. These people did not even know the most elementary facts of the faith they professed, and this Persian Parsee makes the melancholy observation that they were no better than the *durvands* or non-Zoroastrians around them. Nay, the Parsees of Guzerat knew their pitiable condition, and acknowledge it in the letter of invitation they sent to this Persian, whose name was Kaoos, in these penitential words: "Though you are laymen, you are our priests; for our laity in India do not know their religion, and our faith is corrupted by our having gone astray. And all our laity have accepted the ways of *durvands*, or infidels, and *there are none to aid them in religious knowledge.*" This was written by the leader of the Naosari society which was supposed to contain our pretended learned men. We will not quote

* Anquetil du Perron, p. cccxxvi and Jamasp in MSS, Moolla Firoze Library, Bombay, app. 2, No. 3. "The Parsis in India, about a thousand years after their immigration, were no longer in possession of the genuine Hôrn plant, nor of the Frohram Yasht. Jamasp accordingly prepared this copy for his Indian co religionists, at the special request, in fact, of Mobed Rustomji, as we may read between the lines. . . . He heard at Bombay that Rustomji meanwhile had died. After seven days he travelled to Surat, where he was received by the three sons of Rustomji. Here he presented to the Parsis the Frawardin Yasht which he had brought with him, and the Hôrn plant. On May 23rd, 1723, he returned to Bombay, and there transcribed the Frawardin Yasht in Persian characters." Karl Geldner, *Avesta* Stuttgart, 1896, Prolegomena, p. vii n. Dr. Geldner elsewhere notes that at the time of Jamasp and Rustomji this 13th or Frawardin Yasht was in existence in the Indian Yasht MSS, p. xlv, n. 2. It is, however, absent from most of them, as will be seen from Dr. Geldner's own account of these MSS. The chief book in which it is found, Dastur Peshotun Sanjana's MS. *Khordeh Avesta*, is of doubtful date. The learned Doctor says about it that "its colophon has been removed by a second hand, but *copied*, at all events, *from the original which is gone*; it bears the date A. Y. 994, A. D. 1625," p. xii. In absence of the original colophon, the date put in it by a later hand must be considered highly doubtful. The dates of Indian MSS. present a very puzzling question to inquirers owing to many forgeries and false dates inserted to increase the value of spurious later copies.

further from this interesting account, called the "Kissaeh-Kaoos va Afshad," which is the first part of a book called the *Hadesa Nama*, or an account of the evil days of the Parsees. In truth, it furnishes a gloomy picture of the degraded state of that people in the middle of the sixteenth century. *Ex uno disce omnes*. This is typical of several centuries. This period has been neglected in the "History of the Parsees" by my learned and respected friend, Mr. Dosabhai Framjee Karaka, C.S.I., But I am hopeful that this and other defects in his work will be remedied in the new edition now preparing.

Now let us turn to the influence of the Parsee religion upon Akbar. That he studied it deeply and was struck by it, is clear. But what did he adopt of it, when he constructed his *Tauhid-i-Ilahi*, his "Divine Monotheism," upon the good that he found in the existing religions? As I have shown elsewhere, Akbar at first established a pure and simple monotheism, without any symbols or any rites. But later on, when he saw the necessity of outward visible symbols to express the inner ideas, he took the Sun for his great symbol of God. As Tennyson makes him say :—

Let the Sun
Who heats our Earth to yield us grain and fruit,
And laughs upon thy field as well as mine,
And warms the blood of Shiah and Sunnee,
Symbol the Eternal.

This veneration for the Sun he may be said to have taken from the Parsee religion, which, as is well known, venerates the Sun as the great symbol of the Eternal. Father Catrou ambiguously says in his rare work : "He adopted from the Pagan worship the adoration of the Sun, which he practised three times a day : at the rising of that luminary, when it was at its meridian, and at its setting."* Hinduism had also something to do with this inclination of Akbar towards Sun-worship. Badaoni says that Bir Bal gave him this : "The accursed Bir Bal tried to persuade the Emperor that since, the Sun gives light to all and ripens all grain, fruit and products of the earth and supports the life of mankind, therefore that luminary should be the object of worship and veneration ; that the face should be turned towards the rising and not towards the setting sun, *i.e.*, towards Mecca, like the Mahomedans, which is the west ; that man should venerate fire, water, stones and trees, and all natural objects, even down to cows and their dung ; that he should adopt the sectarial mark and Brahmanical thread. Several wise men at Court confirmed what he said by representing that the sun was the 'greater light' of the world and the benefactor of its inhabitants, the

* *Moghul Empire*, p. 121.

patron of kings, and that kings are but his vicegerents. This was the cause of the worship paid to the sun on the *Nauroz-i-Jellali*, and of his being induced to adopt that festival for the celebration of his accession to the throne."* Thus, as in everything else, so in this, Akbar, owing to his strong eclectic bent, combined several things together. Tennyson's *Hymn to the Sun* is a beautiful embodiment of Akbar's ideas about it.

I

Once again thou flamest heavenward, once again we see thee rise,
Every morning is thy birthday gladdening human hearts and eyes,
Every morning here we greet it, bowing lowly down before thee,
Thee the Godlike, thee the changeless, in thine everchanging skies.

II

Shadow-maker, shadow-slayer, arrowing light from clime to clime,
Hear thy myriad laureates hail thee monarch in their woodland rhyme.
Warble bird, and open flower, and men, below the dense of azure,
Kneel adoring Him the Timeless in the flame that measures Time.

Akbar's eclecticism is also to be found in the other thing that he may be said to have taken from the Parsee religion—the veneration of fire. We have seen how he ordered Abul Fazl to take charge of the sacred fire and to feed it continuously, thus keeping it always burning, as in the fire-temples of the Persians. But the Hindoos, too, have a kind of fire-worship, and Akbar must have been influenced by them, too, in this. Badaoni mentions the fact that "from early youth, in compliment to his wives, the daughters of the Rajahs of Hind, he had within the female apartments continued to burn the *hom*, which is a ceremony derived from sun-worship."† I think Badaoni's learned translator, Mr. W. H. Lowe, is wrong in his note on this *hom* when he says it is "the branch of a certain tree offered by Parsees as a substitute for *soma* juice."* The *hom* ceremony of the Hindoos is, as Blochmann rightly notes here, a kind of fire-worship, and has nothing to do with the Parsee mystic "hom" juice, which figures in most of their sacred rites. Fire-worship, therefore, like Sun-worship, Akbar must have taken from the Parsee religion and partly also from the Hindoo. The pious care with which he ordered the fire to be kept burning is, of course, peculiar only to the Zoroastrians, who are unique in this matter. The Hindoos offer sacrifices to the god of fire, but are not so solicitous about keeping it pure and always burning.

Another matter in which Akbar was brought into connection with the Parsees and indirectly influenced by them was the Calendar. Being displeased with everything Mahomedan, he

* Vol. ii, p. 260, Lowe, p. 268 ; also cf. Dabistan, vol. iii., p. 95.

† Vol. ii, p. 261, Lowe, p. 269.

‡ P. 269 note.

tried to get rid of as many institutions and opinions connected with the established faith as he could. One of the chief of these was the Mahomedan Lunar Calendar, which was in vogue for a long time in India. He altered it and adopted the Parsee Solar Calendar, with the old Persian names of the months and days, Farvardin, Ardibehesht, &c., and Hormazd, Bahman &c. The era he changed also, making it, like the ancient Persian kingly era begin with his accession. According to the *Ain-i-Akbari*,* Akbar changed the era and established his Ilahi or Divine era after the Parsee model in A. H. 992, or A. D. 1584†

"His Majesty" says Abul Fazl "had long desired to introduce a new computation of years and months throughout the fair regions of Hindustan, in order that perplexity might give place to easiness. He was likewise averse to the era of the Hijra, which was of ominous signification, but because of the number of short-sighted ignorant men who believe the currency of the era to be inseparable from religion, His Imperial Majesty, in his graciousness, dearly regarding the attachment of the hearts of his subjects, did not carry out his design of suppressing it. . . . In 992 of the Novi lunar year, [A.D. 1584] the lamp of knowledge received another light from the flame of his sublime intelligence and its full blaze shone upon mankind. . . . The imperial design was accomplished. Amir Fathu'llah Shirazi, the representative of ancient sages, the paragon of the house of wisdom, set himself to the fulfilment of this object, and, taking as his base the recent Gurgani Canon, began the era with the accession of his Imperial Majesty. The splendour of visible sublimity which had its manifestation in the lord of the universe commended itself to this chosen one, especially as it also concentrated the leadership of the world of spirituality, and for its cognition by vassals of auspicious mind, the characteristics of the divine essence were ascribed to it, and the glad tidings of its perpetual adoption proclaimed. The years and months are natural solar without intercalation, and the Persian names of the months and days have been left unaltered. The days of the month are reckoned from 29 to 32,‡ and the two days of the last are called *Roz-o-Shab* (Day and Night)."

* Bk. iii, intro.

† Jarrett, vol. ii, p. 31.

‡ Cunningham has this passage of Abul Fazl in a slightly altered form, probably from Gladwin. "The months are from 29 to 30 days each. There is not any week in the Persian month, the 30 days being distinguished by different names, and in those months which have 32 days, the last two are named *Roz-o-Shab* (day and night), and in order to distinguish one from the other, are called first and second." Whereupon this learned antiquary comments thus: "In the account quoted from Abul Fazl, which Prinsep has also copied, the lengths of the months are said to be 'from 29 to 30 days each;' but in the old Persian Calendar of Yazdajird, they were 30 days each, the same as amongst the Parsis of the present day," *vide* Prinsep, *Indian Antiquities*, vol. ii, p. 171 (useful Table.) - The Parsis have 5 intercalary days at the end of the 12 months.

Badaoni's account of this change of the Era and Calendar is characteristic. "Since, in his Majesty's opinion, it was a settled fact that the thousand years since the time of the mission of the prophet (peace be upon him!) which was to be the period of the continuance of the faith of Islam, were now completed, no hindrance remained to the promulgation of these secret designs which he nursed in his heart. And so, considering any further respect or regard for the Shaikhs and Ulema (who were unbending and uncompromising) to be unnecessary, he felt at liberty to embark fearlessly on his design of annulling the Statutes and Ordinances of Islam, and of establishing his own cherished pernicious belief. The first command that he issued was this: that the "Era of the Thousand" should be stamped on the coins. The Era of the Hijrah was now abolished, and a new era was introduced, of which the first year was the year of the Emperor's accession, *viz.*, 963.* The months had the same names as at the time of the old Persian kings, and as given in the Nicáb-uc-cibyaán.† Fourteen festivals also were introduced corresponding to the feast of the Zoroastrians; but the feasts of the Mussalmans and their glory were trodden down, the Friday prayer alone being retained, because some old decrepit silly people used to go to it. The new Era was called the *Tarikh-i-Ilahi*. On copper coins and gold *mohurs* the Era of the Millennium was used, as indicating that the end of the religion of Muhammed, which was to last one thousand years, was drawing near."‡

The fourteen sacred festivals of the Parsees were also adopted by him. "When his Majesty," says Abul Fazl, "was informed of the feasts of the Jamsheds, and the festivals of the Parsee priests, he adopted them and used them as opportunities

* The new era commenced, according to Cunningham, on 15th February 1556 (B.S.) ; but, as Messrs. Sewell and Dikshitt point out in their *Indian Calendar* recently published (London, 1896), 'that day was a Saturday,' and they accordingly commence it on the 14th February.—*Indian Calendar*, p. 46 note.

† A vocabulary in rhyme written by Abu Naṣr-i-Faráhi, of Farah in Sijistan, and read, says Blochmann, for centuries, in nearly every Madrasah of Persia and India.

‡ Badaoni, Cal. Ed. Vol. II. pp. 301, 306 ; Lowe pp. 310, 316. Cf. *Dabistan* : "The Emperor further said, that one thousand years have elapsed since the beginning of Muhammed's mission, and that this was the extent of the duration of this religion, now arrived at its term." (Vol. III. p. 98) "I have read somewhere," says General Cunningham, "that in A. H. 992, when the Hijra millenary began to draw towards its close, and Akbar was meditating the establishment of the Ilahi Era, one of his courtiers stated openly that the eras even of the greatest kings did not last beyond 1000 years. In proof of this he cited the extinction of some Hindu era, which was abolished at the end of 1000 years." (*Book of Indian Eras* p. 84).

of conferring benefits. Again His Majesty followed the custom of the ancient Parsis, who held banquets on those days the names of which coincided with the name of a month. The following are the days which have the same name as a month: 19th Farwadin; 3rd Urdibihisht; 6th Khúrdád; 13th Tir; 7th Amurdád; 4th Shahriwar; 16th Mihr; 10th Aban; 9th Azar; 8th, 15th, 23rd Dai; 2nd Bahman; 5th Isfandármug. Feasts are, actually and ideally, held on each of these days.* Of these the greatest was the Naoroz or New Year's day feast, which commenced on the day the sun entered Aries and lasted till the 19th day of the first month Farvardin.

But this New Parsee Calendar disappeared soon, like most innovations of Akbar, being abolished by Aurangzib in the very second year of his reign. The historian of that monarch gives this candid reason for the abolition of the new calendar. "As this resembled," says Khafi Khan, "the system of the fire-worshippers, the Emperor, in his zeal for upholding Muhammadan rule directed that the year of the reign should be reckoned by the Arab lunar year and months, and that in the revenue accounts also the lunar year should be preferred to the solar. The festival of the (solar) used year was entirely abolished. Mathematicians, astronomers and men who have studied history, know that . . . the recurrence of the four seasons, summer, winter, the rainy season of Hindustan, the autumn and spring harvests, the ripening of the corn and fruit of each season, the *tankhwah* of the *jagirs*, and the money of the *mansabdars*, are all dependent upon the solar reckoning, and cannot be regulated by the lunar; still his religious Majesty was unwilling that the *nauroz* and the year and months of the Magi should give their names to the anniversary of his accession."†

R. P. KARKARIA.

* Ain-i-Akbari, Bk. II ain 22, Blochmann, Vol. I, p. 276, cf Count de Noer, *Emperor Akbar*, Vol II, p. 268. The account in the *Dabistan* is as follows: "On account of the difference between the era of the Hindus and that of the Hejira used by the Arabs, the Emperor introduced a new one, beginning from the first year of the reign of Humáyún, which is 963 of the Hejira (A.D. 1555-6); the names of the months were those used by the kings of Ajem, and fourteen festivals in the year instituted, coinciding with those of Zardusht, were named 'the years and days of *Ilahi*.' This arrangement was established by Hakim Shah Pattah ulla Shirazi." (Shea and Troyer, Vol III, p. 99)

† *Muntakhabu-l-Lubab*, apud Elliot and Dowson Vol. VII, pp. 231-2. cf. Cunningham *Indian Eras*, p. 83: "The *Ilahi* era was employed extensively, though not exclusively, on the coins of Akbar and Jehangir, and appears to have fallen into disuse early in the reign of Shah Jahan., Marsden has published a coin of this king with the date of Sanh 5 *Ilahi*, coupled with the Hijrah date of 1041. But in this case the *Ilahi* date would appear to be only the *jalus* or year of the king's reign. *Numismata Orientalia*, Vol. II, p. 640.

A portion of this article was included in a discourse before the B. B. Royal Asiatic Society.

ART. VI.—THE RISE OF SOCIALISM IN FRANCE.

(An Historical Sketch).

I.

“ON the morrow of victory, we will pillage the large shops, drink the wines at Bercy, divide with one another all we find in the markets, take up our abode in the best hotels; and if one proprietor even should still survive in some street, he will owe his safety solely to our forgetfulness” Such are the words which the unenlightened reader would attribute to some street ruffian, masking his predatory instincts beneath the cloak of socialism, but which, however, are the utterance of M. Lafargue, the leader of an important party, which consisted lately of no less than 60 deputies, sitting in the parliament of the most beautiful, and perhaps the most civilised of European capitals. Indeed, we should require all the elucidation that the “*Ville Lumière*” could afford us, before we could discern the *raison d’être* of so stupendous a menace. It was expressed in writing in a newspaper published at Roubaix, and it has been twice copied and vouched for by one of the most respectable organs of the Parisian Press.* Many of us remember the Commune, and perhaps the Revolution of 1848, with the sanguinary revolt which ensued, so sternly repressed by Cavaignac, and we have perused with horror the history of the Terror of ’93; but we have never been shocked by more desperate words than this written threat of the Socialist leader.

Though great licence is permitted to the French press, and and though public opinion pays little heed to the outbursts of temper of exasperated and irresponsible politicians, we cannot but conclude that a hot fire glows beneath the smoke. France, on the whole, is disappointed with the results of the policy of French opportunists. Much had been hoped from the establishment of the Republic that was to be the panacea for all the abuses which had corrupted the country under the Government of Bourbons, Orleanists and Bonapartes. But the Republic has not abolished corruption, for it has been flagrant during the last fifteen years; nor has the present regime satisfied the just aspirations of the people, or rendered them more contented with their lot. Even the honourable sentiments of the country were insulted by a dishonourable traffic which diminished the prestige of the Legion of Honour. It was further disgusted and disheartened by the failure of the Panama enterprise, which exposed the dishonesty and culpable want of

* “*Le Soleil*,” March, 22nd 1895.

foresight that sullied many politicians who directed the fortunes of the young Republic. There have been other scandals, only less disastrous; journalism has been disgraced by shameless blackmailing, while the most reckless disregard of common honesty has been displayed by the municipalities of important towns. The distress of the poor exceeds that which was patiently endured a few decades ago. Taxation is onerous; the conscription is almost unendurable, and commerce, industry and agriculture are suffering from a severe depression.

It is not astonishing that the people are disillusioned as to the advantages of the present system of Government, when they perceive that their representatives in parliament spend valuable time in futile cavilling, while the most serious questions imperatively demand a solution. But, despite its many symptoms of incapacity, the Republic has completely baffled the pretensions of dynasties, and is at present recognised as the sole Government possible. It has certainly produced many devoted and capable public servants, who have laboured assiduously for their country's welfare, who have placed the national defences on a tolerably secure footing, have adequately provided for popular education, constructed railways, and perseveringly annexed colonies. It is true that some discontent has been occasioned among earnest Catholics, through the interference of Government with their organisation; but a policy of conciliation has lately been inaugurated at Rome. As regards the existing causes of distress, the Republic is only in part responsible, as, owing to the disastrous war of 1870, the taxes required to provide for increased armaments are so high as to entail great sacrifices. The present economical crisis is also sufficient to account for much suffering.

But the general discontent which is so apparent in the country is not so much political as social. The *plebs* has found its voice, and its complaints are loudly expressed. It is like the boy who, on emerging from childhood, is not satisfied with his increase of liberty, but aspires to the privileges of manhood. His requirements are larger, and his demands augment with his years. France has achieved the establishment of the Republic, and abolished personal Government, but she is still dissatisfied. The masses, who have now come to the front, are no longer content with their simple lot, and anticipate the time when they shall fully enjoy the inheritance that they suppose the Revolution should have secured for them. They hold that at present worldly advantages are the too exclusive appanage of the privileged and wealthy. They long for that real equality of condition which they believe to be the legitimate outturn of the great efforts their fathers made in the preceding century to establish political liberty. They even imagine that

Christianity is on their side, as it favours so much the poor and the suffering, though they refuse to be bound by its dogmas, and prefer 'immanents' to 'celestial' justice. They are unable to take a large and comprehensive view of society; yet they desire to change completely our present social system, in which there are still so many abuses: willing men still hunger for want of work; healthy children perish for lack of proper food, and poor girls are often induced to lead a life of shame, lest they should starve. Religious faith has wavered, and old social ties no longer bind.

Feudalism, whose essence was mutual service, has not yet been replaced, and the apparently emancipated multitude are no longer resigned to a servile condition in the hope of a richer reward in life hereafter. They hope chiefly for earthly happiness, and the dream they so long entertained, that they could realise this happiness at the advent of political liberty, has proved a deception. In no country has this disillusion been more keenly felt than in France, despite her natural wealth and the great facilities of existence which her wide and fertile territory offers to a population that is not too numerous for its resources. The workmen of her towns now clamour for another revolution, which this time shall be social, just as the preceding one of '89 was political. The country is already yielding to the claim of Socialism, whose complete triumph could not be secured without the "necessary violence" and the misery such a course would entail. Indeed, much of contemporary legislation is socialist in its character; and, just as the political reforms promoted by Louis XVI strengthened the hands of the opponents of monarchy, so it is possible that at the present time the concessions made to the spirit of socialism will serve to incite fresh demands, till at last the present fabric of society is overthrown; and we may perchance witness a socialist repetition of the reign of terror. But Frenchmen, as a rule, still cling to the principle of property, and, indeed, the majority of them are proprietors, or at least possess a certain amount of wealth, however small it may be. With the exception of the 'proletariat,' or labouring class, of the towns entirely depending on its daily salary for existence, they are not, by any means, disposed to take another leap into the dark like that of the last century, when they were only saved from their dilemma by the coup d'état of a military genius.

The Socialist party, however, increases considerably in numbers, and, by its alluring programme for the abolition of social inequalities, of standing armies, of poverty and want, has induced many to contribute to its success who dissent from the levelling opinions it professes. Even devout Catholics have approved some of its views, and the Count de Mun, one of the

principal Catholic deputies, has formed a society of Christian workmen whose aims are partly socialist, while the term itself is no longer an opprobrium. Political economy has not succeeded in promoting general prosperity, and indiscriminate charity has only served to increase pauperism. There is already a pact between advanced Radicals and Socialists, and the two parties await their opportunity. Such is the aspect of the social question in France.

II.

The principle of association is extremely ancient, and has been traced to the earliest times among the ancient populations of Asia. Manual labour was in great part performed by slaves; but it has been clearly shown that there existed, at the same time, fraternities of artisans. Masons, whose organisation was contemporary with the building of the Temple at Jerusalem, introduced masonic brotherhoods into Egypt, whence they passed to Greece and Italy. The Roman empire contained numerous corporations of trades and crafts enjoying privileges; when it was overthrown by barbarians, municipal institutions were preserved in Italy, Gaul and other Romanised countries; and workmen's associations still exercised their callings in their important cities. Teutons introduced their guilds into North-Eastern France, and, though apparently the latter were designed for mutual succour irrespective of work, they seem to have existed in that district at the same time, and with the same objects as other associations of workmen.

The 'Companions' were, perhaps, the most ancient association and especially charged themselves with the defence of the interests of artisans against the numerous vexations which hampered their industry. They flourished most in the 11th century, for in the following one municipalities were strong enough to assert their independence against the pretensions of feudal superiors. Then corporations of trades arrogated to themselves far greater privileges than before; in their turn they became arbitrary, and appear to have excluded, in a great measure, the more humble 'Companions' from participation in their increased privileges, and from attaining to the position of masters, a right they had hitherto enjoyed.

This exclusion induced the 'Companions' to organise themselves still more strongly in self-defence. No longer able to gain their livelihood through sedentary occupations, they became ambulatory, and wandered from town to town exercising their crafts. Their organisation was so strong that they were able to afford the most efficient assistance to each other; succour in peril, and bread in time of want.

Associations of Companions have existed up to the present time, with a few intervals, when they were interdicted by governments, and in a certain sense are the precursors of the Trades Unions, of secret societies of workmen like the international, and of the organisation of Labour against Capital.

In 1791, the National Assembly abolished all the associations of crafts and trades, corporations, companions, religious fraternities, guilds, *maitris* (masterships) and *jurandes* (workmen's juries). It was hoped that the removal of impediments to trade, and the freedom of contract between masters and workmen would be more beneficial to society than such organisations. But experience has scarcely justified this expectation; for, although the interests of Companions were, to a certain extent, sacrificed to corporations, yet on the whole such institutions afforded some amount of protection to toilers against the encroachment of the powerful, and the greed and avarice of unscrupulous individuals.

During the Middle Ages and subsequently, there were occasional risings of the peasantry against the tyranny and exaction of their lords; but such *jacqueries* were rather outbursts of hatred and fury against oppression than real socialist movements. During the religious wars of the 16th century, some fanatical Leaguers advocated extreme measures against authority; but Leaguers were not Levellers, who were, however, numerous in Cromwell's army in the following century, and previously among the Protestant peasantry of Germany.

When the absolute rule of the Grand Monarque replaced the State, a few faint voices were still heard demanding reforms and denouncing war, while the noble precepts of Fénelon did not pass unheeded. The Abbé de Saint Pierre was the precursor of the reforming philosophers of the 18th century, but the character of his genius and of the systems he advocated, rather belonged to the 17th century than to the following one.

He was a real philanthropist, the originator of the word 'bienfaisant' and the author of some excellent reforms, which, strange to say, were in part accomplished under the corrupt government of Louis XV. But he was in agreement with moderns socialists only in his desire to abolish war, for which object he proposed a somewhat far-fetched plan. Yet Saint Pierre may be justly considered the first great social reformer of modern France.

In the 18th century ancient creeds and institutions no longer remained unchallenged, but were exposed to the pitiless dissection of modern philosophy. As a rule, the principal Encyclopædists were so busily engaged in the destruction of superstition, and, indeed, of revealed religion, as well as

with the advancement of science, that they paid comparatively little attention to the socialist aspirations of humanity. But the world was weary of the past. Feudalism was no longer a reality, and was condemned by the most enlightened minds. Religion had lost its influence among the higher classes, and scarcely retained its hold on the lower. France had been sated with glory under Louis XIV, and was disgraced under his successor. Incredulity had replaced devotion, and society was lulled by illusions of every kind.

When Rousseau revived the love of nature, humanity revolted against the prevalent artificiality of the age, while philosophers sought a social ideal in the annals of Greece and Rome. Liberty alone did not suffice to satisfy the more ardent minds; and Montesquieu, despite his attractive style and the consideration in which his works were held among thinkers, made but little impression on popular sentiment when he advocated a liberal constitution after the pattern of England's, as a means of political renovation. Voltaire patronised liberty; but the destructive criticism of tyranny and creeds had little direct influence with the uncultivated classes.

Apparently the first important attempt to advance socialist views in France is to be attributed to Morelly, who published his great work entitled "La Code de la Nature" about the year 1752. He pleaded in behalf of socialism in the name of morality, holding that the latter had hitherto been completely false, as it started with the assumption that mankind is inherently vicious. Morelly maintained, on the contrary, that men are born good, and that even their passions are beneficial unless they are perverted. Avarice, in his opinion, was the source of all our actual vices, and was the corruption of our nature that was occasioned by the possession of property. Hence, it was necessary to abolish its tenure by individuals, to replace it by State ownership, and to share equally all social advantages. The new organisation of society which he advocated was somewhat complicated, but asserted the equality of all its members; and he insisted on a similar education for all the youths of the country. The "Code de la Nature" is remarkable under two aspects, as it contained the germ of modern collectivism, and comprised one of the leading features of socialism,—its revolt against the old system of morality.

The "Contrat Social" was, however, the real base of modern socialism. In this work Rousseau appealed both to popular passion, and to popular reason. He denounced the actual form of society in the name of nature which he so much loved, and of justice which he so ardently defended; the most eloquent writer of his age pleaded the rights of nature against

artificial oppression. *Le Contrat Social* maintains some of the views of modern socialism, such as the social pact of the people and the sovereign power, which have, to some extent, been adopted by the legislators of the great Revolution. Its celebrated denunciation of the acquisition of private property is still famous. It was certainly Rousseau's mind which left the strongest impress on the feelings of contemporary society, and doubtless sentimental socialism derives in great part from him. His, too, was the presiding influence at the great Revolution; and the proclamation of the Rights of Man repeated Rousseau's ideas.

The third of the principal socialist writers of the pre-revolutionary epoch was Mably, who protested against existing institutions, not so much in the name of morality, or outraged nature, as out of admiration for some austere and socialist form of antique republics. Like so many of his contemporaries, he turned with disgust from the refinements and affectations of Parisian life, in which there existed neither liberty nor reality, to the ideal which the classic governments of Greece and Rome afforded; and more particularly to the country of Lycurgus, who, in his eyes, was the great model for all future legislators. Mably desired a return to the age of gold, which with him implied poverty and simplicity. For this object it would be useful to suppress science, letters and arts, and if it were only possible to attain a Spartan ideal by the extermination of the majority of the human race, it would be advantageous for the minority not to shrink from such a measure. Neither abject poverty nor wealth should be permitted; society should imitate the Spartans, and live in common, partaking of the same simple diet. Though Mably's ideal contains many absurdities, yet his views are extremely interesting, as they mark a characteristic of the time, when it was the fashion to admire the social simplicity of the best epochs of Greece and Rome. There then prevailed a real enthusiasm for classical forms of liberty, and the heroes who defended them, at the same time that men revolted against prejudices and tradition, with the view of founding a new and renovated society following a classic model. It was apparently forgotten that the famous republics of antiquity, though their constitutions were at once liberal and socialist, permitted the most baleful institution which can disgrace humanity: the government of Sparta, which was then so lauded, maintained the worst form of slavery that has ever existed; and in the Athenian state alone there were as many as 400,000 slaves, out of a total population which scarcely exceeded 500,000 souls.

Of the socialists who were contemporaries of the great Revo-

lution, the most prominent was Babeuf, who was the real precursor of the destructive anarchism of the present day. He bequeathed to posterity a system to which the repulsive name of *Babouvism* has been affixed: it advocated the confiscation of the property of all who possessed a larger share of wealth than their fellows, and a political constitution which should be drawn up in such a way as to efface all hope of individual superiority, whether of riches, power or intellect. In his opinion even discord was preferable to a "horrible concord in which we are choked by hunger." It would be better for all things to return to Chaos, that a new and regenerate society might emerge. Babeuf appears to have been influenced by Brissot, a socialist writer, who was the author of the "Theory of Criminal Laws," and who attained celebrity before the Revolution. The latter maintained that the sole title of property was necessity, beyond which it could not extend; and he attributed to man the right of satisfying his natural wants by all possible means, even by theft, and he proposed that society should be reconstructed in such a way as to afford it every means of gratifying its natural appetites.

Though the leaders of the Revolution endowed France with political equality, they stopped short at complete socialism. Indeed, when once they had confiscated the lands of the Church and the nobles, they professed a great respect for property and declared its inviolability.

The numerous wars and the military despotism of Napoleon, who was so opposed to Utopias of every description, offered little scope for the realisation of socialist projects. Yet, almost at the outset of the Empire, Fourier, an earnest thinker and genuine humanitarian, developed his scheme of social regeneration. He was the first of the three great Utopists, who included Saint Simon and Cabet, and was certainly the most original of this trio. The keystone of his system was the attraction of the passions (*attraction passionnée*) which, as regards mankind, corresponded to the law of gravitation in science. The passions were often condemned, especially by theologians; but Fourier maintained that they were altogether beneficial, though they were liable to abuse, and only by their aid could talents be properly developed. Society should henceforth form one harmonious whole, consisting of industrial colonies or phalanges, where the level of capacities should be raised by the help of the proper appreciation of the passions. But Fourier was no leveller; nor did he desire to confiscate the property of others. He wished to educate society, and to perfect it through model colonies, or *phalanges*, by means of which individual merit should contribute most to the common

weal. Some of his projects were far-fetched, as was his idea of one great European State, consisting of numerous phalanges, whose capital should be at Constantinople, and whose government should be presided over by a constitutional chief. His principles were thoroughly moral; he was an enthusiast for merit and the nobler qualities of humanity; nor did he attack religion. Experiments have been made with the view of making a practical trial of his theories, but with little success; he has, however, left to posterity a new and original system, and the example of a devoted love of humanity. Saint Simon, who succeeded Fourier as a social regenerator, attracted even greater attention. He was also one of the most original thinkers of his epoch; but it is said that he probably owed some of his principal ideas to his precursor. Saint Simonianism was entitled at first a sect and then a church, for its founder and his disciples established a system that was religious as well as social; some of the most prominent men of letters and philosophers were among his apostles.

The guiding principle of Saint Simonianism, as regards the moral amelioration of society, was 'rehabilitation of the flesh,' which replaces Fourier's 'attraction of the passions.' But the leading feature of his system for the material renovation of society was *industrialism*. Unlike later socialists, he proposed that capital should become the bulwark of a new society, but so regulated that all should share in its benefits. A bank of exchange was to facilitate its transactions, and labour was to be as much a medium of value as another commodity.

He sought to substitute the direction of business for the rule of men; to replace politics by administration, and power by capacity. 'Terrestrial' morality, or the morality which should alone regard this life, was to take the place of 'celestial' by which at present justice in this world appeared to him neglected for judgment in the next one. A complete equality should exist between the sexes, and man and wife were to be the priest and priestess of society. Saint Simon's views, and those of his brilliant successors, have left a deep impress on modern thought, though little practical result. It is said that a colony of Saint Simonians existed for a few years ago at some distance from Paris, but that they had returned to a state of nature, and could only preserve their existence by means of the roots and berries which they gathered in the forest that sheltered them; but we cannot vouch for the truth of this story.

The leading features of the system of Cabet, the third of the great Utopists, were merit and equality; we should all possess according to our deserts and what our needs require. A socialist discipline should train the *genus homo* from his cradle

to his grave, and his views in this respect coincided with the necessary tyranny advocated by more recent socialists. Cabet could, however, not realise his ideal in his native country, and therefore emigrated to America, where he founded a socialist colony which he called "La Nouvelle Icarie," a name that was familiar to a past generation, as were the terms 'attraction of the passions' and the 'rehabilitation of the flesh.' Modern materialism has now replaced the dreams of Utopists.

III.

During the reign of Louis Philippe, which was pre-eminently peaceful and extremely liberal in its tendencies, every possible conception of society and religion had been originated. On the overthrow of that King's rule, the Revolution of 1848 offered great scope for the experiments of Utopists and Socialists. Popular sentiment was influenced by the histories of Lamartine and Louis Blanc. In his great work on the Girondists, the former had raised Robespierre, the great *ideologue* of the Republic, to the rank of a hero, and Louis Blanc had imagined a system of complete equality in which the working classes should control the Government. The Republic of 1848 was persuaded to make a trial of practical socialism, and to establish the 'Ateliers nationaux,' that recognised one of the great principles of socialism—the right of work, and to offer labour and wages to all who needed them in Paris.

But the national workshops, though they certainly relieved temporary distress, brought on an economical crisis which, combined with the great sense of insecurity that afflicted the possessing classes, menaced the country with financial ruin; and it was soon found necessary, in the interest of the nation, to close them permanently. Paris was thronged at that period by workmen and idlers who had hastened to take advantage of these national workshops; and when the latter no longer enabled them to gain a livelihood, they were easily induced by agitators to revolt. A most formidable insurrection in behalf of practical socialism broke out, and was only quelled after thousands of lives had been sacrificed, by the aid of a large army commanded by Cavaignac, who for the time was invested with dictatorial power.

The reaction that followed this sanguinary sequel to the projects of some of the most brilliant thinkers of the age was intense. Universal suffrage, which had been granted soon after the establishment of the Republic, was rescinded; and a reactionary Chamber of Deputies seemed to be preparing for a second restoration. But the aspirations of the country were opposed to such a retrogression, and the coup d'état which

re-established the rule of the Bonapartes was welcomed by the majority of the people, as a resource against extreme parties.

Though socialism had been sternly repressed, it was far from extinct; but it had lost in part the sentimental and Utopist character it had worn so long. The world had become at once more positive and more material. Germany was initiated into the secrets of French socialism; and, though at first the efforts of socialists beyond the Rhine produced but little fruit, yet it was a Teuton who commenced to organise the positive form of material socialism which prevails at the present time. The system of Carl Marx has already, it is said, the greatest number of adherents even in France. It is atheistical, material and above all scientific, and aims principally at positive results. It is supposed that it was owing to Marx's influence that the International Association of workmen was formed, which abetted the sanguinary episode of the Commune, that was at once a menace and defiance to the old order of the world.

That such a monstrous insurrection could be possible, when France, bleeding and mutilated, lay prostrate beneath the invader's lash, could only be attributed to the demoralization of a large class of the people. In the opinion of a great number of them, the whole organisation of society was based on fraud. They held it iniquitous that the minority should enjoy and abuse all the good things of this life, while the majority could scarcely exist on an uncertain pittance. Prominent and original thinkers had attributed the woes of society to the omnipotence of capital and property. Prudhon, who possessed perhaps the most original mind among his contemporaries, had asserted that property was theft, an opinion which Brissot had expressed before him, but in a manner somewhat less direct. Prudhon was one of the most conspicuous figures of the monarchy of July and of the subsequent governments, and he certainly contributed to the scepticism and social mistrust which were such marked features of these disastrous years of '70 and '71. An old order was sapped, but it scarcely gave place to a new. Prudhon was, however, too inconsistent and paradoxical to lead an important section of society. As an example of this inconsistency, we may cite how at one time he advocated anarchy, to the exclusion of all government, and the return to a really natural society solely by means of the contract of one individual with another. But he changed his views soon afterwards, for he declared that even anarchy was impossible: "it required honest men," he said, "to make a contract, and most men were rogues." Such was the view of society openly professed by one of the most famous sociologists of his time, and it was little wonder that the people should have been affected by the cynicism which their leaders avowed.

The third republic was established with considerable difficulty, and was menaced, at its outset, with another monarchical restoration; but it overcame its first great peril, and sought to gain adherents by becoming opportunist in its character. Gambetta, the great tribune, and perhaps the real founder of the present regime, contributed to the tendency. Within the last decade the republic has grown far more Radical, and it has now incurred the danger of succumbing to the dictation of a combination of Radicals and Socialists, that may prepare the way for the gradual establishment of socialism. French susceptibility has been revolted by the numerous scandals that have disgraced opportunism, in whose policy France has lost faith. The struggle between Capital and Labour increases in intensity. Strikes, in which thousands of bread-winners take part, excite the fiercest passions, and sometimes lead to bloodshed and loss of life.

They occasion constant impediments to the production of wealth, which is also handicapped by the competition of nations that are better organised from an industrial point of view, and where the association of capital has existed for a longer period and on a larger scale. Labour, too, is cheaper in countries that possess less natural wealth. It is only of late that large companies for industrial and commercial enterprises have become at all general in France; they have hitherto been hampered by restrictive legislation, which has restrained their progress lest they should infringe the rights and privileges of the State. Besides, France, like the rest of the world, has been suffering from a prolonged economical crisis.

Taxation is onerous, and the vast sums unprofitably expended on armaments impose an almost insupportable burden on the shoulders of the people. The retail trade in the great towns also suffers considerably from establishments like the Bon Marché and the Louvre, which reduce a considerable number of honest shopkeepers to want. The divorce between religion and education in the public schools has not a little contributed to the discontent of the people through its materialising influence. The people are consequently far less patient than formerly; and their highest hopes are no longer centred in a future life.

It cannot be denied that the material condition of the people has, within the last twenty years, improved in several respects, though latterly the number of paupers has, it is said, increased. But at the same time that they have attained a higher standard of prosperity, their cry of discontent is heard more loudly. The masses now put in their claim to enjoy all the good things of this life, and inherit, like the middle classes, the advantages of the Revolution. All classes, indeed,

demand much more than formerly. When trade is slack, discontented men easily fall a victim to the arguments of agitators, and are sometimes transformed into criminal anarchists joining secret societies whose aims and tendencies they are scarcely able to understand.

But there is another cause which tends to the disintegration of society, and that is the influence of the pessimistic philosophy of Northern Europe. In no country outside Germany has Schopenhauer been studied with greater attention than in France, where both Hartmann and Nietzsche have also made their influence felt. Of late the fatal cloud of despair has darkened the sunlight of France, and the country that has fostered the secret society of the Nihilists, whose creed is despair and annihilation, has produced Bakounine, the notorious founder of militant anarchism, which has shaken French society to its centre.

But anarchism has never been organised with the thoroughness that distinguishes the socialism of Marx. Its exponents have, in general, been desperate wretches, whose crimes had rendered them outcasts from society. On the contrary, the system of Marx is similar, through its comprehensiveness, to the secret association of the 'Illuminés,' who towards the close of the 18th century in Germany, under the extraordinary guidance of Weishaupt (Spartacus), are said to have planned the great Revolution some years before its outbreak, and to have previously arranged its main features.

Anarchism should not, however, be confounded with 'bombeisme'—the word lately coined to describe the propaganda by means of explosive bombs. Though anarchists advocate the use of every possible means for the demolition of our social fabric, they do not necessarily demand the destruction of their opponents after the cruel fashion followed by Ravachol, nor the use of bombs as means of reclaiming society. Still anarchism has inflicted the most dreadful shock upon France, and, indeed, the whole world, through the ruthless murder of a humane and well-meaning President.

At present two principal socialist systems compete for popular favour. The system of Marx, to which we have already referred, and which is a State collectivism, or the possessions and distribution of all property and instruments of production by the State, has the greatest number of adherents. But it is so absolute, that it is less practical in the attainment of its great object, than it is in its views; it is apparently not sufficiently supple to content itself with small beginnings. The second system is that of Guesde, who has derived his opinions from Marx, but has modified them. Unlike the latter, he prefers to make a commencement with the Communes, before replacing

all private action by the State. Hence his system is rather communistic than collectivist. It has received the name of *Possibilist*, owing to its greater adaptability to actual circumstances. But there is no hostility, though not a little jealousy, between Marxists and Possibilists. They agree as regards main questions, and are equally anxious to overthrow the present Radical-Opportunist Republic.

In their eyes the Republic's boasted device,—“Liberty, Equality and Fraternity”—is a fiction. Slavery, they think, still exists, for the ‘Proletariat’ is, in their opinion, more enslaved by capital than the negroes who once crouched beneath the lash of a brutal master. There is no equality, for the inequality of fortune has deprived the majority of the advantages of wealth and of education; and fraternity exists only in name, when thousands die by slow starvation. The present overproduction of manufactories, they hold, should also be regulated and controlled, as the people suffer from the reduced amount of wages that it entails; such are the general views of the socialist party, which has of late become so serious a movement in France.

As far back as the great Revolution their influence profoundly affected the new society which that great event evoked, and guided, in a certain measure, by the national destiny, by powerfully reacting on popular sentiment. It is impossible to predict what measure of success awaits socialism in the future; but it is probable that persistent efforts will be made to secure its triumph; and, should events prove favourable to its progress, no doubt some serious attempts will be made to overthrow the present social organisation. Meanwhile, existing institutions are undermined, so that the old social edifice may fall when all its props are broken. But any violent and sudden attack against the authority of the Government would almost certainly be baffled; and, indeed, if it were the only alternative, France would prefer at present to return to the shelter of personal rule. What precisely awaits society in the gloom of the future, it is impossible to predict; but the socialism so elaborately organised in Germany will undoubtedly combine with French socialism to efface, at a more or less remote date, national frontiers, and to reorganise society. It is impossible that the same view of social matters which holds good in one century should be adapted precisely to another. The world, too, must either transform or decay; but probably the real key to its welfare is ‘solidarity.’ Were it really understood and practically applied, the advantage of each member of society would be so nicely balanced, that none would suffer either from the encroachments of capital or the violence of labour. Sociology and Anthropology are, perhaps, at the present juncture, the favourite

studies of French thinkers, but science cannot be counted on for the realisation of man's happiness, when the fresh secrets she may reveal will perhaps only render him more miserable; for faith, which is the safeguard of his destiny, often suffers through the impiety of scientific dissection. The spirit of compromise so often decried would be more likely to respond to his needs, and the hearty co-operation of labour, if aided by capital, might lead to that peaceful and beneficial renovation of society to which our ideal aspires. Co-operation has certainly succeeded to a great extent in England, and in societies of production particularly at Oldham and Rochdale.

The restrictive laws against co-operation have been lately modified in France; and, should the people learn to organise it among themselves, it may become as effective an industrial factor as the present system of competition, through which the country is menaced with another social war. It would require perhaps the elapse of a century, before the more enlightened system would become general, for the rude minds of manual toilers would not immediately acquire the self-command and self-restraint that would be necessary for its success. But the hope it would encourage, would probably save France from the shock of another and more terrible '93, which would arrest true progress as surely as the violence and brutality of that date. By peace, and not by war, man would learn that egotism is folly, and that we all suffer when one among us is wronged. The brutal struggle for life may be useful in certain stages of society, when force is right, but is of small advantage and produces nothing in our present condition; the good understanding of all would well replace it.

A short time ago the *Figaro* despatched M. Routier, one of its permanent staff, to the principal towns and districts of France, to inquire into their opinions, their condition, and the progress of socialism. He published the result of his investigations in a small treatise entitled "The Social Question, and the Opinion of the Country," and showed that in several of the great towns such as Marseilles, Lyons and Toulouse, socialism was making steady progress, and that it possessed some honest and independent leaders, who rejected all ideas of violence, trusting to time and justice for the future triumph of their cause. Apparently, the country was anxious to elect independent legislators, who would advance social reform rather than obtain the success of any particular party. The socialists had, therefore, as good a chance as the rest of winning a considerable number of the seats at the approaching elections.

The lower classes in the towns are often said to elect social and radical councillors, not so much for their merit and capacities, but owing to the fact that they belonged to the same

condition as themselves. This accounted for the great number of mechanics, artisans and small tradesmen who were included in the municipalities of large towns. These members were in general socialist in their tendencies, or, to speak more correctly, levellers.

Should the latter ever succeed in their attempt to govern the country, the new *regime* would probably be communistic in its form. Latterly certain town councils have passed some extremely drastic measures, such as the suppression of the funds for the support of Sisters of Mercy, who so patiently attend the sick and suffering; and there have been instances, where the townspeople have been taxed that their administrators might partake of sumptuous banquets. Toulouse and St. Denis have sometimes set the executive at defiance, and appear in some respects like independent communities. Should other municipalities follow their example, the system of Guesde will probably precede that of Marx in the organisation of socialism. But the reckless extravagance, dishonesty, intolerance and incapacity displayed by socialist *cédiles* has not been surpassed in the records of despotism, and it is not probable that the country will be soon disposed to place any confidence in a system promoted by such unprincipled leaders.

Society is passing through a transition which is more pronounced than at any previous period of this century. But in the same way that the hard lot of mechanics was improved by the association of the 'Companions' in the 12th century, so the co-operation of labour, assisted by capital, would serve to save the proletariat from dependence on the precarious resource of a daily wage, and to reconstruct the social edifice on the basis of work. Still the passage to a higher social state is beset with difficulties, and resembles the Exodus of Israel through the desert, after the chosen people had escaped from Egyptian despotism, when the Promised Land was vainly sought. Of all countries, France, perhaps, suffers the most in this weary wandering, and it depends on the wisdom of her leaders, and on the obedience of her sons to the law, whether she will be contented with the material ideal of collectivism, or reconstruct a consecrated temple for humanity.

ARTHUR L. HOLMES.

ART. VII—PERSONAL TIME.

THE question, what is Time? is as hard to answer as the famous question of Pilate, what is Truth? The unreflecting many, if they give the matter a thought, feel confident that they know all about it—a convincing proof that they know nothing about it whatever. Of the reflecting few, some have gone so far as to deny the independent existence of time, in which they may very well be right without being much wiser than their neighbours.

My purpose in the following pages is, not to discuss the metempirical question of what time is, but to examine the bearing of recent physiological and psychological research on the relation of time, as ordinarily conceived, to the facts of human life.

Most people, whatever views they may hold as to the nature of time, are firmly convinced of its uniformity; and, if they were told that what is commonly regarded as the same portion of it may differ under different circumstances—may be one thing for one person, another thing for another person, and even for the same individual may possess widely different values under different conditions, they would probably reject the statement, as opposed alike to every-day experience and to common sense. A day, they would argue, is the period during which the earth makes a complete revolution about its axis; an hour is the twenty-fourth part of a day, a minute the sixtieth part of an hour, and so on; and, though one person may waste time and another economise it, yet it marches with equal foot under all circumstances and for all men. Such an answer to the statement in question would, none the less, imply either misapprehension of its true significance, or disregard of incontrovertible facts.

Let us, then, clear the way by an attempt to discriminate the different points of view from which time, as commonly apprehended, may be regarded.

First, we have the obvious distinction between time as measured by the succession of external events, and time as measured by its contents in consciousness—between time, that is to say, as measured by objective standards, and time as measured by a subjective standard.

That the former mode of measurement could alone furnish even an approximation to a uniform standard, must have been evident to mankind almost as soon as they could think at all. The establishment of a uniform standard was, however, far from being so simple a matter as might at first sight be sup-

posed. Before the dawn of astronomical knowledge, the interval between one sunrise and the next would probably have been generally accepted throughout a great portion of the world as affording such a standard. But it could not have been long before it became apparent even to savages that this period was subject to variation, and at a later stage of human progress, recourse was had to more refined methods of astronomical observation to correct it.

It is unnecessary to enter here into a history of the methods adopted to mark the time corresponding to a complete revolution of the earth, which came to be accepted as a uniform standard for ordinary purposes ; nor need I examine the nature of the warranty which we possess for our belief in its uniformity, though it may be stated, by the way, that this warranty is not absolute.

Having obtained this standard measure, mankind were for a long time still without means, at once convenient and exact, of sub-dividing it. The earlier chronometrical devices were all more or less rude and inconstant in their operation, or, as in the case of the sundial, were available only under certain conditions and for limited purposes. The discovery that, in conformity with the law of gravity, a pendulum of a given length oscillates in a uniform period at the same place on the earth's surface, at last furnished a practically uniform standard for the measurement of short periods of time.

Regarded from a purely objective point of view, and so measured, time, it may be truly said, is the same thing for all men and under all circumstances ; but there is no other sense in which this can be truly said, and, though it may possibly be argued that this is the only point of view from which the matter possesses any practical importance, it will be seen in the sequel that such a view of the case cannot be sustained.

The impossibility of attaining to uniformity in the measurement of time by subjective methods scarcely needs illustration.

That the estimate which we form of the duration of a given period not only depends largely upon the multitude and character of its contents in consciousness, but varies greatly under different mental and bodily conditions, is a matter of common experience, though every one may not know how enormous may be the difference in extreme cases. There are probably few persons who have not been struck by the deceptiveness of the estimate frequently formed of the length of a period passed in dreaming, or in dreamless sleep ; while the books on sleep and dreams abound in instances of this deceptiveness far more extraordinary than fall within the experience of most of us.

Of all the cases of the kind on record, the most marvellous

is, perhaps, that related of himself by Dr. Macnish in his "Philosophy of Sleep."

"I dreamed," he says, "that I was converted into a mighty pillar of stone, which reared its head in the midst of a desert, where it stood for ages, till generation after generation melted away before it. Even in this state, though unconscious of possessing any organs of sense, or being else than a mass of lifeless stone, I saw every object around—the mountains growing bald with age—the forest trees drooping with decay; and I heard whatever sounds nature is in the custom of producing, such as the thunder-peal breaking over my naked head, the winds howling past me, or the ceaseless murmur of the streams. At last I also waxed old, and began to crumble into dust, while the moss and ivy accumulated upon me, and stamped me with the aspect of hoar antiquity."

If one should be inclined to suspect some unconscious exaggeration here, we have the well-known case of Lafayette's dream in the Bastille, which is open to no such objection. But it is needless to multiply instances in illustration of an illusion which, at least in its less extreme forms, is with most persons a matter of frequent occurrence.

It is, perhaps, less generally known that a similar illusion is capable of being produced by the use of certain narcotics, notably of opium and Indian hemp.

It is not, however, under such special conditions only that our estimate of the passage of time is subject to noteworthy variation. In our ordinary waking moments so uncertain is the testimony of consciousness in the matter, that, not merely when we base our estimate on a purely introspective process, but when we endeavour to correct it by reference to the succession of events of indeterminate duration, we are seldom able to make more than the roughest approximation to the truth, and are often extravagantly wide of the mark.

In both the above aspects the subject of time has been extensively, if not exhaustively, studied. But there is a third aspect in which time may be regarded, and which, notwithstanding its great practical importance, has been as yet but very imperfectly investigated.

We may regard time as measurable by the quantity of human work, mental or physical, capable of being performed in it; and we shall find that, from this point of view, its capacity, if I may so call it, varies under different conditions of mind, body and environment, no less demonstrably, if within narrower limits, than does our sense of time as measured by its contents in consciousness.

Till within a comparatively recent period it was generally believed that sensation and the external processes on which it

depends, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, volition and the muscular contractions determined by it, were simultaneous; and, though the fact that the more complex operations of the mind require variable periods of time for their performance, must always have been commonly known, it has only lately come to be recognised, even by scientific men, that all such operations involve physical processes of which time is a necessary condition.

The application of the experimental method to mental physiology has established beyond doubt, not only that the propagation, in the sensory and motor nerves, of the excitement on which sensation and muscular contraction, respectively, depend, occupies measurable periods of time, proportional, other things being equal, to the distance traversed, but that a measurable period of time is occupied also in the conversion into sensation of the excitement communicated by the sensory nerves to the brain; while, again, the mental processes which intervene between sensation and volitional impulse, even in the case of the simplest re-actions, require for their performance a yet further period of time.

Owing to the difficulty of eliminating other elements of the reaction-time, it has not yet been found possible to determine with rigorous precision the rate of propagation in the sensory, or centripetal, nerves. But the experiments of Hirsch, De Jaeger and others point to a rate of about thirty metres per second.

The time occupied in the conversion of an impression on the brain into sensation has been calculated by Mach as forty-seven thousandths of a second in the case of sight; twenty-nine thousandths of a second in the case of touch, and sixteen thousandths of a second in the case of hearing; while Exner, experimenting with the electric spark, obtained a period varying from twenty-one to thirty-six thousandths of a second as that during which the sensation remained latent, according to the force of the stimulus.

The rate of propagation of the excitement in the motor, or centrifugal, nerves in man has been determined by Helmholtz as about thirty-one metres and a half per second.

The length of time that elapses between irritation and commencement of contraction in a muscle, again, has been found to vary from six to eight thousandths of a second, being greater in females than in males, and in old, than in young, subjects; while that between the commencement of contraction and complete re-extension of a muscle appears to range from one-sixteenth to one-tenth of a second.

The time occupied in the performance of the mental processes that intervene between sensation and volitional impulse,

varies, as might be expected, within very wide limits, according to the nature of the operations to be performed.

The total period occupied in the performance of the several processes that intervene between stimulation of the peripheral extremities of the sensory nerves and the resultant re-action in the form of a voluntary muscular movement of the simplest kind, such as holding up one of the hands, by preconcerted arrangement, in response to a signal, has been calculated by different observers under different conditions.

Professor Hirsch found the total period, or "physiological time," under normal conditions, to be about one-fifth of a second in the case of sight, about fifteen hundredths of a second in the case of hearing, and a little over seventeen hundredths of a second in that of touch, when the nature of the signal was not known beforehand, but very much less when it was so known. Professor Donders, as the result of comparative experiments, found the time occupied by an operation of the judgment of the simplest kind, combined with that of choosing, according to arrangement between two modes of response to a given signal, to be sixty-seven thousandths of a second. It was arranged that the subject of the experiment should move the right or the left hand, according as the skin of the right or the left foot was slightly irritated. The result showed that, when the subject knew beforehand to which foot the irritation would be applied, he responded correctly in two hundred and five thousandths of a second, but otherwise not until after a lapse of two hundred and seventy-two thousandths of a second. When, however, the subject was required to respond differently to two different visual signals, the time occupied in the operation of the judgment, *i. e.*, in the discrimination of the signal and the choice of the response, was from twice to three times as long as in the last case. The persons experimented on—five in number—were first required to respond to a simple impression of light, and their several re-action-times were measured and found to range from a hundred and eighty-four thousandths to two hundred and twenty-six thousandths of a second. They were next required to respond with the right hand to a red, and with the left hand to a white, signal; and their re-action-times, being measured, were found to range from three hundred and seventeen to three hundred and eighty-five thousandths of a second, the average time occupied in the double operation of the judgment being thus a hundred and fifty-four thousandths of a second.

The effect of "expectation" on the length of the time required for the re-action has been very distinctly shown by some experiments of Dr. Beaunis, of Nancy, who arrives at the general conclusion that, within certain limits, the time is diminished in proportion as the period of "expectation" is

increased. Should the period of "expectation," however, be prolonged till fatigue supervenes, then, in accordance with a general law, to be referred to again hereafter, an opposite effect is produced.

So far, I have dealt chiefly with average figures. It now remains to consider certain facts which show that, in a very real and important sense, the same portion of time is not the same thing for all men, or under all circumstances, and that there is even a strong presumption against its being the same thing for any particular individual in all places.

The fact that what has been described as reaction-time differs to a marked extent in different individuals, must have been a matter of common observation from time immemorial, though it is only in comparatively recent years that the dependence of the difference on physiological conditions has been recognised. The language of everyday life bears abundant testimony to the fact; and a multitude of children's games exist to show that it has been appreciated even in the nursery time out of mind. The highly intellectual game of "snap," to mention only one instance, success in which depends on priority in signalling the correspondence of a card suddenly turned up with one previously exposed, furnishes a familiar and striking illustration of the different rates at which different individuals, when on their mettle, perform the processes involved in perception, apperception, comparison, the generation of volitional impulse and the performance of the muscular movements necessary to the utterance of the signal word.

The more numerous and complicated the mental processes concerned, the greater, it is obvious, will such differences be, though the result of the recorded experiments shows that persons who are slow in responding to a simple impression, are often quick in performing an act of judgment, and *vice versa*. But, even where the event to be observed and the mode in which the observation is to be notified are of the simplest kind, and where both are known beforehand, the individual differences are large enough to make it a matter of moment that they should be eliminated from observations in which great exactitude is required. Thus, before a just comparison can be instituted between the results obtained by different observers in noting the moment at which a star crosses the meridian, it is essential that the difference between their "individual co-efficients," or, in other words, the time found by independent experiment to be occupied by each in responding to an impression of a particular order, should be eliminated.

What, however, is more germane to my present purpose is that this "individual co-efficient," even in the case of the sim-

plest re-actions, is found to differ very appreciably in the same person under different psychical and physical conditions.

Towards the detailed exploration of the vast field of enquiry presented by the subject, comparatively little in the way of exact experiment has yet been effected. Certain significant facts, however, have been conclusively established; while a number of others are either so obvious as to be patent to ordinary observation, or may be reasonably anticipated on *a priori* grounds.

That certain causes, as, for instance, differences of temperature, or of the electro-tonic condition of the nerves, exercise a marked effect on the rate of propagation of the nerve currents, has been ascertained by direct physical experiment; and it follows that such causes must have a corresponding effect on the rapidity not only of all sensory and motor processes, but of all mental processes dependent in any degree on present sensation.

Certain poisons again, such as curare, conine and nicotine, are known to diminish the contractility of the muscles, probably by impairing the power of the nerves to transmit excitement to them, and must consequently affect the rapidity with which motor processes are performed. The distribution of the blood, and its condition, especially as regards the amount of carbonic acid present in it, are also known to have a powerful effect on the activity of the nervous system generally.

When the operations of the mind come to be considered, not only is the number of purely physical causes by which the rate of action is liable to be affected, enormously multiplied, but the limits of variation are indefinitely extended.

Most of us must be more or less familiar with the effect of extreme cold in producing not merely local insensibility and rigidity, but general torpor. Now, once let it be admitted that the rapidity of brain action is diminished by extreme cold, and there ceases to be anything paradoxical in the assertion that, for the same individual, time may be one thing in one latitude and another thing in another latitude. For the value, or capacity, of time, as measured by the amount of mental, or combined mental and physical work which can be performed in it, is manifestly dependent wholly or largely on the rate of brain action.

The effect of inhaling an atmosphere vitiated by excess of carbonic acid in deadening the intellectual faculties is more common, though, perhaps, not so generally recognised, and the influence of certain narcotics in the same direction is a matter of notoriety, if not of universal experience.

The effect of certain stimulants and narcotics on "re-action-time" has been made the subject of exact measurement by Dietl, Vintschgau, Kraepelin and others.

Thus, champagne in small doses has been found to shorten re-action-time; but, when large doses are used, the acceleration is followed, after a certain interval, by an opposite effect. Alcohol, in doses of seven grains and a half and upwards, appears first to shorten and afterwards to lengthen re-action-time; and, the larger the dose, the more rapidly the second of these stages supervenes. In the case of response to a simple impression, a dose of fifteen grains was found first to reduce the re-action-time by twenty seven thousandths of a second, and afterwards to lengthen it by twenty-five thousandths of a second. A dose of thirty grains first caused an acceleration of thirty-four thousandths of a second, and then a retardation of thirty-seven thousandths of a second, and one of forty-five grains an acceleration of thirteen thousandths followed by a retardation of forty-four thousandths of a second, while a dose of sixty grains caused immediately a lengthening of the reaction-time to the extent of fifty-four thousandths of a second. Where operations of the judgment are concerned, the effect of these stimulant narcotics is similar, but more marked.

Morphia, injected hypodermically, speedily lengthens re-action-time. Inhalation of nitrite of amyl is followed first by a considerable increase and afterwards by a diminution. Coffee, prepared in the usual way, diminishes re-action-time, the diminution beginning to take effect after twenty or twenty-five minutes and continuing for some hours. Tea produces a marked diminution, succeeded by an increase of re-action-time.

The above facts point with unmistakeable clearness to the general conclusion that whatever stimulates the nervous system, tends to shorten and whatever depresses it, to lengthen, re-action time; and this conclusion is fully borne out by observation of the effects of fatigue, of depressing emotion, of physical pain, of malaise and of moderate bodily exercise.

After a lengthy series of experiments, remarks Signor Buccola, in his work, *La Legge del Tempo nei Fenomeni del Pensiero*, the obvious effects of weariness are invariably encountered, in the excessive numerical values obtained; the reason being that the attention, like every other physiological process of the organism, is unable long to maintain the same degree of strain.

After a depressing emotion, according to the observations of Dietl and Vintschgau, not only is the re-action-time of the sufferer immediately increased, but the increase may continue for days. The effect of chronic melancholy in the same direction is still more marked. Signor Buccola states, as the result of experiment, that subjects suffering from this morbid affection take double and treble the ordinary time to respond to a simple impression. As to physical pain, Obersteiner

mentions the case of a lady whose time of re-action to impressions of sound was increased by a slight headache from a normal average of a hundred and thirty-four thousandths to an average of a hundred and seventy-five thousandths of a second. In the case of a subject who had been frequently experimented on by Signor Buccola, and whose re-action-time in the case of impressions of sound had been found to vary but little in health from an average of a hundred and thirty-three thousandths of a second, a slight attack of fever, accompanied by a painful sensation of dulness about the head, raised this figure to a hundred and sixty-five thousandths of a second. What is more remarkable is that, under these conditions, the re-action-time of the patient, hitherto very constant, was found to be excessively variable, reaching, in one experiment, the high figure of two hundred and sixty-three thousandths of a second, whereas in health it had never been known to exceed a hundred and eighty thousandths of a second.

Even a slight degree of general discomfort has a very marked influence on physiological time. Dr. Beaunis, in the *Revue Philosophique* for September, 1885, has recorded the results of an interesting series of experiments on this point. "The state of health," he says, "has a considerable influence on re-action-time. I will cite, in illustration, a series of experiments performed on myself on the 24th July. Without being actually indisposed, I was nevertheless ill at ease. In a first series of experiments, made in the morning, the time of expectation being 1.82 sec., the signal movement was three times made in anticipation of the second visual impression. In the other four experiments, the re-action-time averaged 0.37 sec., the minimum being 0.34 sec. Never, in any other experiment, had this minimum of 0.34 sec. been reached. In the afternoon of the same day a fresh series of experiments gave me a minimum of 0.15 sec., and a maximum of 0.29 sec., showing that the abnormal condition, though not entirely removed, was passing away." Two hours later, a fresh series of experiments gave Dr. Beaunis a minimum of eleven hundredths, and a maximum of twenty-one hundredths of a second, which, he tells us, corresponded with his normal re-action-time.

From these facts and figures the inference is irresistible, that nothing which affects, however slightly, the tonicity of the nervous system, or even one's general sense of *euphoria*, or well-being, is without a corresponding influence on the rate of brain action.

This once granted, it is no mere speculation, but an unavoidable conclusion, that differences of "physiological time" in the same individual will be correlated with differences of

place, or, to speak more accurately, with the differences of environment implied in differences of place. For no doubt exists as to the influence, upon general health, not only of special meteorological conditions, but of the complex multitude of conditions, subtle and palpable, which make up what is commonly called the climate of a place.

No one who has suffered from malarial fever in either an acute or a sub-acute form, or who has witnessed its effects in others, can be unaware that, although in the pyrexial stage it is not unfrequently attended with cerebral exaltation, it is, in its other stages, invariably associated with such a deadening of nervous tonicity and sensibility as would necessarily exercise a more or less potent retarding influence on the "physiological time" of the sufferer. Even in those milder forms of malarial poisoning in which the disease does not assume a paroxysmal form, nervous depression is a constant feature of the sufferer's condition. Now, whatever doubt there may still be as to the etiology of malaria, its connection with locality is altogether beyond dispute.

But, apart from distinct pathological states, the aggregate influence of the conditions which constitute the climate of a place, on our general sense of well-being, is a matter of common experience, while in many cases the influence of special conditions is sufficiently distinct to manifest itself separately to everyone who pays any attention to the matter. What inhabitant of London, or its suburbs, for instance, is not familiar in his own person with the deadening effect on the nervous system of that lurid pall of mingled smoke and cloud, so vehemently anathematised by Mr. Ruskin, which but too frequently obscures the sun for whole weeks together. The effect is, indeed, both prompt and marked, to an extent that can hardly be explained by the mere diminution of light; for total darkness, unless prolonged beyond certain limits, does not appear to impair the activity of the nervous centres, if, indeed, it does not exalt that of some of them, notably of the auditory nerve cells.

But, though total darkness does not at once impair the sensibility of the nervous system, even partial deprivation of sunlight, when continued for many days, has a very marked effect in this respect, inducing the pathological condition known as etiolation, attended, along with other morbid symptoms, by a lethargy not very unlike that caused by malarial poisoning.

That for each individual there is a certain average intensity of sunlight, determined partly by natural constitution and partly by habit, more favourable to a healthy state of nervous sensibility than any other, and that, consequently, a change, whether in the way of diminution or of increase, will be attended by a deterioration of such sensibility, is, therefore, only a

reasonable conclusion. Everyone must be familiar with the fact that excessive glare not only interferes with clearness of vision, but, after a time, produces in those exposed to it a general state of daze which may continue some time after its cause has been removed. Now, average intensity of sun-light being dependent upon latitude and climate, we have here another probable causal link between locality and "physiological time."

The result of extreme cold in diminishing the conductivity of the nerves, when so applied as to lower their temperature, has been already noticed. It does not, of course, follow that differences of external temperature, when unattended by any change in the temperature of the nerve substance itself, would have any influence on physiological time; but, judging from what is known of the effect of such differences on the state of the nervous system generally, it might be confidently predicted that such would be the case. Towards the elucidation of this point but little has yet been effected. Certain experiments have, indeed, led Dietl and Vintschgau to the conclusion that re-action-time is shorter in winter than in summer. This conclusion, however, in the general terms in which it is stated by them, probably stands in need of some qualification. The observers in question, it may be added, do not appear to refer to extreme cold, and presumably the temperature at which their experiments were performed was not low enough to give rise to a sense of physical discomfort. The probability is that, as far as ordinary temperatures are concerned, no law can be laid down that shall be applicable to all persons, and that for each individual there is a certain temperature, determined by constitution and habit, which is most favourable to healthy nervous sensibility, and any departure from which in either direction will impair such sensibility, and consequently lengthen re-action-time.

Dietl and Vintschgau argue that the results obtained by them are conformable to every-day experience, which shows that the winter season is favourable to the operations of the mind, and that those operations are carried on with more or less difficulty in very hot weather. The former statement, however, is true only in respect of the inhabitants of cold climates; while, as to the latter, the expression "very hot weather" must obviously be construed relatively to the individual concerned.

A native of India, for instance, is reduced to a state of comparative torpor, physical and mental, by a degree of cold which a native of England or Germany finds pleasant and conducive to activity of both mind and body; while a degree of heat which would prostrate a native of Northern Europe, not

inured to it, strikes him as temperate, and is favourable to the fullest exercise of all his faculties.

Another constituent of climate which exercises a noteworthy effect on the activity of the nervous system, and may, therefore, fairly be presumed to influence re-action-time, is the proportion of oxygen, and yet another that of ozone, in the atmosphere.

Though an exact comparison of re-action-time in individual instances can be made only by means of scientific investigation with the aid of suitable apparatus, the cumulative effects of persistent differences in this respect may very well be palpable to ordinary observation.

To turn to certain facts, among others of a similar kind, within my own personal experience :—

It happened to me, some years ago, to return to London in the depth of winter, after a long residence in a sub-tropical climate; and one of the first things that struck me was that time, as measured by work other than mechanical—not merely by purely mental work, but by all work in which the physical element did not largely preponderate—had undergone for me a marked diminution in value. The day, estimated by the quantity of such work capable of being performed in it, seemed reduced to about half its usual length; and I found this to be the case not only on days when I was largely occupied in intellectual work of a continuous kind, but when I was mainly engaged in ordinary affairs, demanding for their performance merely simple operations of the judgment, combined with simple and familiar motor acts.

In comparing the value of the day, as a whole, in the two places, it was obviously essential to eliminate certain disturbing elements. In London, for instance, my working day, as measured by the clock, was actually somewhat shorter than it had been abroad. Then, again, there were a multitude of little things which I had to do for myself in London, whereas abroad I had been accustomed to have them done for me; some of these things being of the nature of adjuncts to measurable work, while others were unconnected with any work capable of being estimated at the end of the day. Some allowance, too, had to be made for the disturbing influence of unfamiliar surroundings, and for a variety of unwonted interruptions. Still, after making a liberal allowance for all such disturbing elements, I felt that there was a heavy balance against the efficiency of the day in London, which could be accounted for only by physiological conditions.

Most of the disturbing elements referred to could, moreover, be eliminated, by taking as the basis of comparison, not the entire day in either place, but some definite portion of it occupied with continuous work of a similar kind. The

result of such a comparison was to confirm the conclusion that a difference of "physiological time" was by far the most important factor in the problem, and that, where any of the higher operations of the mind were largely concerned, this difference was of considerable magnitude. Judging merely from my feelings, it appeared to me that the difference was largely dependent on diminution of temperature and of average intensity of sunlight far below the standard to which I had become habituated during my long residence abroad. On two occasions, on proceeding for a few days to the sea-coast, the change was promptly followed by a marked exaltation of nervous sensibility, accompanied by a corresponding increase in the facility and rapidity with which mental operations of every kind were performed. In both these cases, along, no doubt, with a multitude of less obvious differences of environment, there was a slight increase of temperature, together with a considerable increase of sunlight, and probably of the proportion of both oxygen and ozone in the atmosphere.

If there were anything extraordinary about the above experience, it would be undeserving of record in connexion with the subject of this paper; for, in that case, a presumption would naturally arise that the facts observed were dependent on idiosyncrasy. But, instead of being in any way extraordinary, it is merely a typical instance of what is a matter of every-day observation. Who that is at all accustomed to mental work has not discovered from experience that he can perform such work better in one place than in another? Who, again, is unaware that, although the most rapid work is not always the best work, nevertheless the place in which he can work best is generally that in which he can also work most rapidly?

The effect of abrupt changes of climate on re-action-time depends to a great extent, it may be admitted, on physiological disturbance caused by the strangeness of the external conditions, and, so far as this is the case, acclimatisation will tend to minimise differences resulting from climatic causes. Nevertheless, it is in a high degree probable that the average re-action-time of the natives of different parts of the world would be found to bear a constant relation to the climatic conditions of their respective habitats; or, in other words, it would be found that, just as there is an "individual co-efficient," so there is a topical "co-efficient" which enters into it.

Until they come to consider the matter closely, most persons will, probably, be apt to look upon the fact of re-action time differing in different persons, or in the same person under different conditions, as one which is rather curious than im-

portant, or which, at all events, mainly concerns astronomers and other scientific observers whose pursuits require them to record, or act upon, certain events with special promptitude. It is obvious, however, that if, when men make special effort to observe or act with promptitude, such differences occur in the rapidity with which they succeed in observing or acting, much greater differences of the same kind will occur when they make no such special effort. If there is a constant difference in the time in which A and B, respectively, accomplish the various processes that come into play in the making and marking of a simple astronomical observation, we may reasonably conclude that there will be a like difference in the time they will require to perform every act of their lives involving similar or more complex processes.

If, again, there is a constant difference in the time required by A or B to make a simple astronomical observation under different sets of physical conditions, then we may rest assured that there will be a like difference in the time required by him to perform any other act involving operations of the nerves and nerve centres of a similar, or more complicated, kind under such different sets of conditions.

It is true, the total time occupied in the propagation of an excitement in the nerve fibres is so infinitesimal that differences in its rate may be practically disregarded, and therefore difference of re-action-time will not affect, in an appreciable degree, the rate at which acts that are purely or mainly mechanical are performed. The quantity of ground a man can dig, or the distance he can walk, in a given time is mainly a question of muscular power and physical endurance, and individual re-action-time has no appreciable effect on the rate at which such work is performed, as long as it is done mechanically. Yet even in the case of such work it will often happen that conscious operations of the judgment intervene between the sensory and motor processes concerned. In walking over rough ground, for instance, or in crossing a crowded thoroughfare, a more or less conscious mental effort is the frequent antecedent of one's choice of direction, and the rapidity with which the judgment acts will have a very sensible effect on the rate of one's progress.

It is but a small fraction of the active lives of most of us, however, that is occupied in such simple operations as these. Not only are some or other of the higher intellectual processes constantly called into play in most of the bread-winning work of the world, but there is hardly an act of our domestic and social lives, however apparently simple, into which operations of the judgment do not enter.

Take, for instance, so comparatively simple an operation

as the sorting of a mass of letters. Here is a process which will be more or less mechanical according to the system of classification adopted. Should the system be alphabetical, all that will be necessary to determine the proper place for each letter will be to glance at the name of the writer; and when once we have familiarised ourselves with the positions of the several batches, the operation will be almost purely mechanical. Suppose, however, that we elect to sort our letters according to subject. To decide upon the destination of each document, we shall now have not only to make ourselves acquainted with the gist of its contents, but to perform a more or less complicated act of the judgment, and our re-action-time will become a comparatively important factor in determining the rate at which the operation is performed. Everyone who has had frequent occasion to go through this somewhat unpleasant task must have discovered that the rate at which he can work varies widely with his mental condition from one time to another. On one occasion the acts of judgment necessary in order to assign each letter to its proper place will be performed with a rapidity approaching that of intuition; on another it will be attended with much conscious effort and more or less prolonged hesitation.

Or take another common operation, of a somewhat different type, the packing of a portmanteau for a journey. Here the process is synthetic, instead of analytic, and the problem is often one of considerable complexity. There are several independent and perhaps conflicting ends to be harmonised:—space has to be economised as much as possible, while, at the same time, the contents of the portmanteau have to be arranged with reference not merely to future convenience, but to their safe carriage. To perform the operation with rapidity and success, a comprehensive view of a number of minute particulars, combined with a succession of prompt and accurate judgments regarding their mutual relations, is necessary. In such a case re-action-time is of immense importance. If we are in a bright mood, things will fall into their places, as by a series of happy inspirations. If we are in a dull mood, we shall linger hesitatingly over the disposition of each article, and, should we be pressed for time, may probably miss our train.

Now, these two trite operations, which I have chosen because, while they are apt at first sight to appear highly mechanical, they are found, on examination, to involve complicated mental processes, may be taken as typical, one or the other, of more than half the acts of our lives.

To the unreflecting mind, differences of time measured in hundredths of a second may seem very trifles, unworthy of

serious consideration ; but such differences, when accumulated, may mean hours in the course of a day's work, days in the course of a month, years in the course of a lifetime. When Dr. Beaunis made the experiments to which I have referred above, he was "not indisposed ;" he was only slightly "ill at ease ;" yet, in that condition the average time occupied by him in making a simple movement in response to a visual signal, was increased from about sixteen hundredths to about thirty-seven hundredths of a second, or, in other words, it was considerably more than doubled. This means that, in all probability, it would have taken him, under the same conditions of discomfort, at least twice as long as usual to perform any work involving a succession of such re-actions to sensory impressions, and more than twice as long as usual to perform any mental work of a more complicated nature. Passed under such conditions, it is, therefore, not too much to say, a month, a year, or a lifetime, as measured by brain-work, even of a simple kind, or by any work into which brain-work largely entered, would be robbed of half its potential value.

Now, between perfect health and a condition which declares itself in consciousness as one of discomfort, there are endless degrees of imperfect health which, though not thus clearly manifesting themselves in consciousness, affect in a greater or less degree, the tone of the nervous system, and it may be reasonably inferred, reduce by corresponding percentages the rate at which the nervous centres perform their functions. Of such degrees of imperfect health, habitat is, next to diet, perhaps, the most frequent correlate. The implication is obvious. If the rate at which a man's brain works is but twenty per cent. less rapid at—say—Upernivik, than in London, or in London than—say—at Brighton, then it follows that time, as measured by brain-work, is shorter for him by one-fifth at Upernivik than in London, or in London than at Brighton ; ten hours in the one place are equivalent to only eight hours in the other ; fifty years to only forty.

And is it not when so measured that time, after all, possesses the most practical importance for us? Clock measurement is but a device for adjusting our acts to those of our fellow-men, or to the succession of natural events, a very important object, it may be granted, but yet only subsidiary to our fruition of the hours as they pass. To know the right moment and to seize it is often half the battle ; but the ability to seize the right moment and utilise it implies preparation for it ; and the measure of that preparation is limited by the potentialities of the moments that have preceded it.

JAMES W. FURRELL.

ART. VIII.—SIR RICHARD TEMPLE.

The Story of My Life ; by Right Hon'ble SIR RICHARD TEMPLE, Bart.

OF all Indian civilians of his generation—say between 1830 and 1860—none landed in India with less prestige or left it with more distinction than the sometime Governor of Bengal whose autobiography has been lately brought out by Messrs. Cassell and Co. Without the burly vigour of John Lawrence or the suave presence of Bartle Frere, he was equally wanting in the subtle originality of such men as Sir John Strachey or Sir Alfred Lyall. With an appearance that invited caricature and a delivery that made no impression, he had passed among his College mates for a comic character, under the homely alias of "Bumble"; and he had the ill-luck to be absent from India on two momentous occasions when he seemed to lose all ordinary opportunities of distinction. Yet we see this son of a small country squire becoming successively Chief of the Central Provinces, Resident at Haidarabad, Finance Minister, Lieutenant of Bengal, and Governor of the the great Western Presidency. Nor was this all; not content with having filled five posts, each of which would have been the climax of an ordinary Civil officer's career, he comes home, not to enjoy his well-earned rest by planting cabbages in his ancestral kitchen-garden, but to take his place in Parliament as an active member, and to preside at the councils of the London School-Board; to become a Privy Councillor; and to have his recollections published by a good firm and welcomed by the London critics, who so seldom notice an Indian book. If Melpomene did not smile upon his cradle, he has, nevertheless, won the admiration of his fellow-citizens as much as if he had remained in England all his life and produced as much poetry as Sir Lewis Morris.

The book under our notice gives a reply to the question thus raised; and it does yet more, by supplying a practical plan of life, or Young Man's Guide to Success, which deserves a place in the outfit of every Indian Civil Servant who wishes to see how prosperity may be won; not by superfine sentiment or social charm so much as by an unrelaxing, undeviating pursuit of the path of duty, and by a genial tolerance of the faults and follies of those with whom that path may bring you in contact.

Temple landed in India in 1846, and, after the usual probationary period in the College of Fort William, which was then an obligatory matter for young Bengal "writers," proceeded

to Agra to join the North-West Province staff, then ruled by the Hon'ble James Thomason. His first district was Muttra, of which the Magistrate and Collector was Mr. Edward Thornton, afterwards known in England as Chairman of the P. and O. Company. After a short apprenticeship in land revenue work, he was one of the young officers selected by Lord Dalhousie to introduce law and order into the newly annexed province of the Punjab ; and early in 1851 he became an Assistant Commissioner in the Jalandar Duab, which had already been licked into some sort of shape by John Lawrence. That masterful man was not yet Chief Commissioner of the Province, having for superior his brother Henry, and for colleague Mr. Mansel. These exalted administrators finding occasions of serious difference, the Governor-General presently called for a report on the condition of the country ; and Temple, whose keen observation and graphic, if somewhat pompous, gift of language had begun to make him remarked—was selected by the Chief to lay his views before the Supreme Government.

But, although the Chief might nominally address the Government, it was the younger brother who really inspired the report. The hand might be that of Esau, but the voice was the voice of Jacob. John Lawrence was, by title, Financial Commissioner ; but, as Sir T. Munro had long since observed, he who rules the Land Revenue rules the Land in India. The chivalrous chief was for preserving the feudal aristocracy of the Province ; the Financial Commissioner was bent on recognising and strengthening the villagers who tilled the land. Into that buried controversy no one need enter now ; the Knight's bones are dust, and the more prosaic scheme has prevailed and borne good fruit. Temple won his first step in the Secretariat by aiding it with his pen.

The service was doubtless congenial ; and in that service he found the school which made him the diligent energetic administrator that he became. The measures by which the Punjab was converted to peace and order, and prepared to be the fulcrum of resistance to the perils of 1857, were fully detailed in Temple's report, and will be found excellently summarised in Trotter's *India under Victoria*, Vol. I. It is a characteristic record, showing Anglo-Indian officialism in its most favourable light. There is little or none of the pragmatic pedantry of gentlemen in the Secretariat imposing European ideas upon a backward population ; but one sees the work of hearty practical sagacity directing native industry into beneficial channels.

Naturally, the skilful apologist soon developed into the permanent, and, in fact, indispensable, Secretary ; not a Mayor of the Palace, indeed ; Henry Lawrence soon retired from an

untenable situation, and the harder of the brothers succeeded to the Chief Commissionership ; but John Lawrence was not a man to be influenced by any Prime Minister, however useful. We have it on Temple's own testimony that he would listen to all that his Secretary had to say, and then bid that Secretary to sit down and draft a Minute in a directly contrary sense.

In 1856, after ten years of well-employed exile, Temple took leave to England. During his absence the Bengal Army mutinied, and the Punjab was exposed to a truly fiery assay. The strong-willed founder was still there ; but it must have seemed to the former Secretary a bitter blow that held him away from his Chief at such a moment. The absentee hastened back with all convenient speed, and became Commissioner of the Lahore Division in 1858 ; but ere two years had passed, he was called to Calcutta to supply facts and local colour to the financial reforms of the Treasury Official, Jas. Wilson, who had been sent out from London to restore a shattered system. It does not appear that Temple had much to do in this affair, or, indeed, that he ever had any special aptitude for the financial branch of public administration. He was probably more at home in the pigskin than on the stool of an office ; and, indeed, Mr. Wilson's short Indian career did not lead to the supposition that he was a man to lean on local aid. In 1861 Temple succeeded Colonel Elliott as Chief Commissioner of the newly-constituted Central Provinces, and it is hard to believe that he could feel as keenly as the Anglo-Indian public did how much more congenial was the new occupation. From that date his success knew no check, if we except a momentary disaster due to a brief return to the dark and mysterious region of Finance.

The Central Provinces arose out of the re-construction that ensued upon the suppression of the Mutiny. When Lord Canning had been advised to annex the Delhi territory to the Punjab Lieutenantcy and to move the seat of the North-West Government to Allahabad, it was found necessary to make some definite arrangement for what had been known as the Saugor and Nerbudda Territory, formerly administered, in considerable difficulty, by the Government of Agra. This territory was now made into what was in those days known as "a non-regulation province ;" and the next six years saw the country take form and organisation under the new Chief's almost autocratic sway. In all Temple's long and splendid career there has been no period so useful to the Empire, and probably none so happy for himself, as this long spell of labour, in which he carried into practice the lessons he had learned in the Punjab. An able and instructive summary of the result will be found in Capt. Trotter's already cited work (*India under Victoria*,

II. (199). There may be seen how, with restless energy, the indefatigable Chief rode round his torrid principality on horseback, braving hot winds and dust storms, fording unbridged rivers, and bringing the direct influence of the Master's eye to bear upon the work of all subordinates. The great defect of the province was a small population—hardly a hundred to the square mile—and many of those little better than savages. A deficiency of that sort was not to be made good in six years by any individual, however energetic. But the foundations of peace, order, and prosperity were undoubtedly laid.

In 1867 the versatile administrator became British Minister at Haidarabad, a post which has been trying, if not fatal, to many an official reputation, but in which Temple's shrewdness and tenacity enabled him to avoid pitfalls for the short term of his incumbency. Before the end of the year he was once more called to Head Quarters, and made use of in the Government of the Empire. His new post was that of Secretary to the Government of India in the Foreign Department; a branch of administration usually held by the Viceroy in person, and thus offering less scope for originality in the subordinate than might be the case where Secretary and Councillor are more nearly co-ordinate in rank and standing. But Temple was now to become a Minister himself; and for six not too prosperous years he held the portfolio of Finance in the Indian Empire.

Temple's prentice hand was not fortunate. Having "budgeted for a surplus" in 1869, he went to Europe on leave. No sooner was his back turned than Sir John Strachey—afterwards to split his own bark upon the same rock—subjected the Estimates to a scrutiny, the result of which was to show that a deficit of two millions sterling was at hand. Sharp measures being immediately adopted, the ship of State resumed her course, and the pilot was once more taken on board, but Lord Mayo was too honest and too earnest a ruler to run any more risks. Until the tragic and premature end of that nobleman's tenure of office, Temple's position was strictly subordinate, and the Viceroy personally initiated the famous reforms of 1870-72. Mayo's successor, Lord Northbrook, was equally independent, and perhaps even more qualified, and the abolition of the unpopular and demoralising income-tax was generally understood to be the act of the Viceroy alone.

In 1874 Temple obtained what may be regarded as the great opportunity of his life. Hitherto he had been known as the agent rather than as the originator, and had worked in long-established grooves. A crisis seemed now at hand

which would try all by whom it might be encountered with absolutely new conditions. In 1861-2 there had been a scarcity in Upper India, but it had been limited as to space, and of short duration. But in the autumn of 1873 it seemed that the periodical rains had failed over the greater part of the Lower Provinces, a region equivalent in area to the whole of France.

Public opinion was just at the moment in want of a sensation in England ; and Indian affairs had already begun to attract more attention than before the fall of the great Company which had formerly acted as a screen between India and the master-nation. The London Press took up the famine in Bengal and Behar, headed by the *Times*, which enunciated the bold doctrine of official responsibility for human life. The then Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal was Sir George Campbell, an Anglo-Indian Civilian of high reputation, but naturally anxious not to incur expense which might afterwards meet with disapproval from his superiors ; Lord Northbrook, having accepted from London the mandate of unrestrained outlay, preferred to be directly, and, so to say, personally represented on the scene of the disaster ; and the energetic Finance-Minister was sent down to the afflicted region as a sort of *ad-latus* to the Lieutenant-Governor. Campbell soon after resigned and Temple took his place.

Into the once-debated question of the period, this is not the place for entering. Temple was accused of having over-estimated the crisis with which he so successfully coped ; and humourists amused themselves and the public with stories of the Babu who said that "His Honour had held a famine." But, as Temple himself pointed out, the success of a cure ought not, in common fairness, to be made the only argument for minimising the gravity of the disorder. A good deal of money was certainly expended ; but the will of Jove was accomplished. The programme of the Thunderer was almost carried out ; in a population of fifty millions, it was stated, not fifty deaths had occurred from starvation ; and, seeing that in the bills of our London mortality at least as many such casualties occur annually without any abnormal conditions, no official was hanged, and Temple became a Baronet. The whole net special outlay exceeded six millions sterling, two-thirds of which were at once made good out of the revenue of that year.

So far, no just blame can attach to Sir Richard ; where the enemy found better occasion was three years later, when he was in temporary charge of a more serious and wide-spreading operation. The famine of 1877 was to be "a cheap famine," and Temple undertook to deal with an enormous calamity

on principles diametrically opposed to those which he had applied to one of far less intensity. The result was disastrous: the famine lasted two years, during which the loss of revenue, and the actual extraordinary expenditure, amounted altogether to more than double the cost of 1873, while the mortality amounted to $5\frac{1}{4}$ millions in excess of the normal rate.

Sir Richard next became Governor of Bombay, where his tenure of office was not marked by any events of moment; and he now, in his retirement, looks back with pardonable pride on a career distinguished by success justly attributable to zeal, loyalty, a capacity for using the heads and hands of other men, a constant readiness to do good, and a singular absence of ill nature or vindictive passion.

ART. IX.—FEMALE INFANTICIDE IN THE PUNJAB.

THE crime of Female infanticide among the Hindus of certain parts of India is not of recent origin. Their Origin of Female ancient sacred books show that it was infanticide. practised in times of yore. In the

Garar Purán which claims antiquity next only to the Vedas, and which is supposed to have been Its antiquity. compiled long before the days of the Mahabhárata and Ramáyana, punishment for the murder of female children is distinctly laid down.

The text says :—

Mention in the *Garar Purán*. *Kania ghdti bahwet kushti tiryaseh chandál unisho.*

Meaning :—

“ He who kills an unmarried girl, shall become a leper, and must be treated as a *Chandal*, or low caste ” (such as sweeper, &c.)

See Chapter 5, Shlok (verse) 3.

2. Manu, the great Hindu law-giver, who flourished 2,200

In the laws of Manú. years ago, or before the time of Bikramajit, says in Chapter XI of his Code :—

“ He who kills his daughter shall be sent to the hell of the lowest region, filled up with blood and pus. He who commits such a sin perpetrates the murder of a Brahman, which is tantamount to inflicting an injury on God.*

Further on, Manu says in the same Chapter :—

Kania ghdti chhe prap phiu kumbhay barkang puri chaele.

Namely :—“ He who kills a *kania* (unmarried girl), shall have his abode in the hell of the fiercest region.”

The particular allusion to the murder of an unmarried girl (or *kania*) clearly indicates that in the age of Manu and even before that, girls were murdered by their parents, either for fear of incurring marriage expenses, or to avoid the supposed disgrace of having a son-in-law, and thus lowering their status in society.

3. The *Srimat Bhágwat*, believed to have been compiled three

In *Srimat Bhágwat*. or four thousand years ago, in Askand (Chapter) X, narrates the story of Kans, Raja of Mathura, who put to death the newly-born female child of his own sister, and was, particularly for this offence, punished with death.

* According to Hindu belief, a Brahman is the incarnation of the deity.
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4. In the Garg Sangta, of which the origin is claimed for a time anterior to the birth of Krishna Avatár, the famous pipe-blower, and Raja Praschat, it is laid down that the murder of a *kania*, or unmarried girl, is more heinous by several degrees than the killing of a cow or a Bráhmaṇ.

There are various passages in Praschat Vavek, Kashi Khand, Praschat Minjri and Praschat Eudiv Sanjar, all ancient Hindú religious books, providing most severe punishment for the crime of Female infanticide, such as living in the jungle for twelve years, finding means of livelihood by begging alms from door to door for as many years, and the like punishments.

5. If the crime had not been prevalent in the time of Presumption that the Manu, his celebrated Code would not practice is very old. have provided severe punishment for it in such express and emphatic terms as it has done. Indeed, it was known to have existed before the time of Manu and it seems to have been prevalent, in a greater or less degree, in all ages since the dawn of history.

5. (a). The ancient Arabs killed their infant children, male and female, to avoid the trouble and expense of feeding them, but on the rise of Islam the practice was totally stopped by the following verse of the Koran which, according to Mahomed, was revealed to him :—

Wala taktilú auladakum min Khashia tin imlaq; nahn-o nar zoko hum wa iya kum inna qutlo hum kána khatá au kabira.

Meaning :—

“Do not kill your children for the fear of poverty ; for we supply them and you with food. Verily, the killing of children is a most heinous crime.” *

6. The part most affected by this pestilence was, no doubt, Rajputáná, the seat of the great tribe, the Rajputs, who trace their genealogy to the sun and the moon. The descendants of the ancient reigning families of Rajputáná, up to the present time, call themselves Suraj Bansis and Chandra Bansis. The very idea of giving a daughter in marriage was repugnant to the feelings of the proud Rajputs, who preferred destroying the life of their infant daughters to marrying them, when grown up, to a stranger, and the practice was by degrees adopted by other Hindú castes. At the present moment it prevails all over India among several castes of the Hindus. A strange incident is recorded in Indian history showing a

* Chapter XV, section 3, clause 12 of Alkoran.

strong contrast with the Rajput notions of pride of race and high birth. It is the marriage of the daughters of Rajput princes with the Mahomedan Moghul emperors of India. Thus the Rajput princes of the house of Amber and Jeypúr, gave their daughters in marriage to Akbar. But the object which prompted these chiefs to enter into matrimonial alliance with the Moghul sovereigns was to connect themselves with royalty, and thus to acquire a share in the government of the country. It was the aim in life of the politic Akbar to ameliorate the two great sects of the Indian population, and he saw that matrimonial alliances with the powerful Rajputs would have the beneficial effect of enlisting Hindú sympathy on the side of his government. It was with these objects that the connection in question was formed.

7. The Rajputs considered it humiliating and degrading to have a son-in-law as the lord of their offspring of the female sex. The Story of Raja Todar Mal. The other tribes, in later times, imitated them. It is said of Raja Todar Mal (a Khatri), the great financier of Akbar, who enjoyed the special privilege of wearing an aigrette on his turban when attending the court (a privilege peculiar to the princes royal), that when a daughter was first born to him, he gave up the practice of wearing the decoration, feeling that his pride had been humbled by the birth of a daughter, and that he ought, from that moment, to bend his head, instead of lifting it up in assertion of self-importance.

8. Some have tried to trace the origin of female infanticide among the Hindús to the period of Mahomedan rule in India, when, during the early Mahomedan invasions of Sindh, Kasim, the lieutenant of the Khalif of Baghdád, carried away by force the beautiful daughter of the Raja of Brahmanabad as a trophy for his royal master. (711 A. D.) Another instance cited is that of Komla Devi, wife of Raja Karan, of Gujrat, celebrated for her beauty, and presented to Sultan Ala-ud-din, along with other booty, by his general Khizr Khan. (1297 A.D.). But the position becomes untenable when we remember the story of Ram Chandra king of Ayudhia (Oudh), and Ráwan, the reputed demon king of Lanka or Ceylon, the story of whose abduction of Sita, the beautiful wife of Rám, is graphically described by Válmíkí in the pages of the Rámáyana. The story of Bhismik the Raja of Kanshi Nares (Benares), and of his daughter, Rukmini, who was carried away by force by Krishna Maharaj against the will of the girl's father, who wished to marry her to Shishopal, Rája of Chanderi, is too well known to need description. A war among the Rajas, who each coveted Daropti,

the beautiful daughter of Raja Daropat of Dasuha, was averted by the feats of valour performed by Arjuna, who ultimately married her. There have been numerous instances of abduction and carrying away married women in the annals of India relating to the Hindu period, and what a few early Mahomedan conquerors did in India was only what has frequently followed war among all nations and in all ages. An instance is to be found in the Bible (*Judges*, Chapter XXI) regarding the Benjamites. Speaking of the tribes of Israel who destroyed Jabesh Gilead, the text says :—

“ 10.—And the congregation sent thither twelve thousand men of the valiantest and commanded them, saying, go and smite the inhabitants of Jabesh Gilead with the edge of the sword, with the women and the children.

“ 11.—And this is the thing that ye shall do. Ye shall utterly destroy every male and every woman that hath lain by man.

“ 12.—And they found among the inhabitants of Jabesh Gilead four hundred young virgins that had known no man by lying with any male : and they brought them unto the camp to Shiloh, which is in the land of Canaan.”

Roman history records the incident of Romulus, the mythical founder of the city of Rome, who, having invited the neighbouring States with families to join the games held by him in honour of the god Conses, with his followers, rushed suddenly into the midst of the spectators, snatched up unmarried women in their arms, and carried them off by force. The consequence of this wholesale abduction of virgins was a series of wars, in which the Roman youth was forced to take refuge in his city on the Palantine.

9.—But when it is clearly shown that female child murder existed in parts of India centuries before the Mahomedan era, it becomes impossible to ascribe its origin to the Mahomedan conquest of that country. Moreover, the cause (supposing it ever existed) having vanished with a century of British rule in India, it does not stand to reason that the effect still continues.

Its true causes.

The true and real causes to this day are the same as they were more than 2,000 years ago, or before the age of Manu, namely, a sense of degradation and of shame in having a son-in-law, and the fear of incurring heavy expenses in, first, marrying a daughter and providing her with a suitable dowry, and, again, in maintaining intercourse with the new comer in the family (her husband and lord, on a scale consistent with the honour and position of the girl's parents, which is simply a question of worldly means.

Living on the profits of usury is prohibited by the laws of

The practice grew into a custom.

Manu.* Yet custom has rendered it valid. So female infanticide, although strictly prohibited by the Shastras, continued to be practised by certain classes of the Hindus throughout India, from the confines of Kashmir to the Bay of Bengal and from the Himalayas to the Southern Mahratta and Rajputana countries.

10.—The entire absence of any mention of it in the histories of the Mahomedan period in India leads to the conclusion that the practice did not exist in that period. In the Memoirs of Babar, translated from the Chowghattai language into Persian by Abdul Rahim, *Khan-i-Khanan*, and in the Tuzk of Jahangir, those Emperors have given a graphic description of Indian customs and usages. Jahangir notices the Sikh sect as an upstart of a new religion, the followers of which styled their leader "Gúrú." "As they were interfering with the true faith and aspired to political ascendancy, I had," writes Jahangir, "their Gúrú seized and ordered the sect to be punished." If the practice had existed to any extent during that period, it is not likely that the royal historians, who have given a minute description of Indian customs in their able works, would have omitted all mention of so glaring an evil in the country, and the measures they might have adopted in repressing it. The *Ain-i-Akbari*, or the Institutes of Akbar, which contains Regulations in all the branches of the administration, is silent on the subject. Hindu historians, like Sujun Rai, Kanungo of Batala, who flourished in the time of Aurangzeb, Bahadur Singh, the author of *Yadgar-i-Buhaduri*; Kishen Dial, author of *Ashraf-ul-Tawarikh*, Sada Sukh, author of *Muntakhib-ul-Tawarikh*, Umrao Singh, author of *Zubdatul Akhbar*, Har Sukh Rai, author of *Majmi-ul-Akhbar*, and others,† say nothing about it. If this omission be taken to be due to their unwillingness to expose an evil of their own sect, surely the Mahomedan historians had no such excuse and they would have been the first to mention it.

It may also be argued that Mahomedan historians ignored an evil which concerned neither them nor their sect, and hence the omission by them of any mention of it in their works. But

* Manu's Smṛiti, Ch. XI, verse 61.

† A taste for history seems to have grown up among the Hindus during the later period of the Moghul Emperors, to which period the authors above named belong.

Raja Todar Mai was the first to introduce the use of Persian in the State accounts, which were formerly kept in Hindi by Hindu Moharirs. He compelled his co-religionists to learn the Court language of their rulers.

there have been independent writers like Abdul Quadar Badaoni, the talented historian of Akbar, Hasham Khan, better known to English readers as Khafi Khan, the historian of Aurangzeb, and others ; and, as they have written their works in a spirit of perfect independence, concealing no shortcomings and leaning to no party, the omission by them of any mention of the evil in their respective works points unmistakeably to its absence during the period to which the histories relate. All this fairly leads to the inference that long before the Moghul period the practice had ceased to be known in India. It was either repressed by the rigour of the earlier Mahomedan rulers, or the practice had of itself died out with the loss of Hindu independence.

11.—But the practice was renewed as the Mahomedan Monarchy showed signs of decay, and it was in full force during the whole period of disorder and anarchy that intervened between the invasion of Nadir Shah and the establishment of the Sikh monarchy in the Panjab. It reached its height during the ascendancy of the Sikh *misl*s, before the rise of Ranjit Singh of

Was in full vigour during the ascendancy of the Sikh *misl*s.

the Sukerchakia *misl*, who subsequently became the ruler in chief of the Panjab. This we find evidenced by the pages of the *Nasihāt nama* (or Book of Admonitions) by Gobind, the martial Sikh Guru, called by the Sikhs their *Daswan Badshah* (or tenth King). The Guru says in the *Nasihāt nama* :—

Kuri mar ki darshan nahin chahie. “ The face of one who kills his daughter must never be seen.”

In the *Panth Parkash*, the History of Sikhism, passages occur describing the evils of *Kuri mār* or Female infanticide. It describes how Sukha Singh, the Sirdar of the Rām Garhia *Misl*, was excommunicated, as a punishment for his killing his infant daughter.

12. I have given a brief sketch of the history of female infanticide from the earliest known times to the period of the Sikh supremacy. Its history since the annexation of the Panjab. Mr. J. M. Douie, in his able paper on this subject, has traced its history from the time of annexation down to the present period. He describes how sternly the promulgation issued by Mr. (subsequently Lord) John Lawrence, as Commissioner of the Trans-Sutlej States, denouncing the burning alive of widows, the killing of daughters and the burning alive of lepers, was enforced. This was followed by a great durbar held at Amritsar, the seat of Sikhism in the Panjab, attended by some of the feudatory chiefs and leading sirdars of the Panjab, at which rules restricting marriage expenses within certain limits were framed, and

agreements for their observance by the representatives of tribes concerned entered into.

13. I may add that a big durbar, attended by the leading Sikh chiefs and sirdars, was held at Lahore by Sir Robert Montgomery in 1862, at which he denounced the practice of Female infanticide, and urged the introduction of a system of Female education in the province, as the only means of improving the social condition of the people and removing the evil customs which had obtained a deep root in the country.

14. Five years later, or in 1867, Sir Donald McLeod, who succeeded Sir Robert in the Lieutenant-Governorship of the Panjab, directed his attention to the subject. In April of that year, he addressed a letter to the Anjuman-i-Panjab, Lahore, a society for the diffusion of useful knowledge (which subsequently gave birth to the Panjab University), inviting essays on the subject of Female infanticide, and offering, on behalf of the Panjab Government, certain money rewards for the best essays. Sir Donald, who, like his two great predecessors, Sir John Lawrence and Sir Robert Montgomery, possessed an intimate knowledge of the country, in his letter to the Anjuman, observed: "The idea prevalent among some classes, especially of Rajputs, that it is honourable and necessary to marry a daughter to a male of a superior caste or tribe, and humiliating or inadmissible to marry her into the family of an inferior, is, in my opinion, a fertile cause of the prevalence of this crime, so that it seems very desirable to urge on the classes entertaining this idea the expediency of resorting to equal marriages."

15. Several essays were forwarded to the Government through the Anjuman with various recommendations, chief among which were the following:—

- 1.—Prohibition of early marriages.
- 2.—Improvement in treatment of brides by their father and mother-in-law.
- 3.—Re-marriage of widows.
- 4.—Prohibition of polygamy.
- 5.—Education of females.
- 6.—Payment by Government of marriage expenses.
- 7.—Giving medals to those who preserve their daughters.
- 8.—Rewarding those who aid Government in the matter.

9.—Excluding from Durbars, &c., those who withhold aid or countenance infanticide.

10.—Sending Pandits and others about to persuade the people, or European officers to convey complimentary messages.

16. At the request of the Lieutenant-Governor, Pandit Moti Lál, Mir Munshi to Government, an able scholar, wrote a memorandum on the subject embodying his own views. These were briefly the following :—

Memorandum by Pandit Moti Lál

1.—As regards suspected villages, that the services of wives of headmen and patwaris be secured by half-yearly presents for watching expectant mothers in suspected families, being present at confinements, visiting daily for a time where the child born is a female, and recording the occurrence in the Patwari's diary, midwives being at the same time bound, under heavy recognizances, not to serve on any such occasion without summoning one of the above women to accompany them.

2.—That, in every suspected town of considerable size, a Sub-Assistant Surgeon, a European midwife and a strong Police guard be stationed, the native midwives being bound under recognizances, as above, not to serve in suspected families without the attendance of the European one, by whom, on the birth of a female child, a report shall immediately be sent, through a Police Sergeant, to the Sub-Assistant Surgeon, pending whose attendance and examination of the child the midwives shall, on no account, leave the premises,—the surveillance of such child being continued for some days, and a *post-mortem* examination being held immediately in the event of its dying suddenly.

3.—That a tax be levied on all suspected families to meet the outlay incurred in carrying out the measures proposed ; there being no reason, in the Pandit's opinion, to apprehend any difficulty in determining what families may be justly suspected, as mutual jealousies will speedily admit of the truth being elicited in this matter, so soon as the tax is imposed.

4.—That a British Officer of experience be specially deputed to visit all suspected localities, to obtain confidential opinions, to collect and collate in-

formation on all points relating to this subject, and furnish reports for the consideration and orders of Government.

Sir Donald, in his able Minute of 22nd June, 1870, has reviewed the whole of Pandit Moti Lal's essay. He was so much pleased with this essay, which was written by order, that he awarded the first prize of Rs. 500 to the author. His Honour, in the course of his review, has noticed one significant fact. He observes: "As the crime of Female infanticide is confined or nearly confined, to Hindus, it might reasonably have been expected that more of indignation against its perpetrators would have been felt by good men of that persuasion than by others, and that some of these would have been induced from this feeling, if not from a desire to compete for the prizes offered, to come forward and lend a helping hand towards bringing the commission of the crime to an end. Such has not, however, proved to be the case."

Sir Donald thought all the proposals made by the Pandit to be deserving of consideration; but, his tenure of office as Lieutenant-Governor being about to expire, he was unable to take any decisive step in the matter.

17. The Female Infanticide Act of 1870 was passed, and rules were framed under it by the Local Government in December, 1884. The rules provide for the maintenance of a nominal Register in form A and a special Register in form B for the proclaimed villages. In the A Register are entered recognised heads of families, or masters of separate households as heads of families, and every member of the family habitually resident in the village is entered by name. All persons under twelve years of age are entered as children, except married female children living with their husbands, who, for the purposes of the rules, have been dealt with as adult females.

In Register B are recorded all births and marriages of females, and all deaths of unmarried female children, and of married females under twelve years of age not living with their husbands, occurring in the Jat families of the proclaimed villages. The Register to be kept by the officer in charge of the Police station within whose jurisdiction such village is situated.

It has been laid down as the duty of the person registered as the head of a proclaimed family to report immediately to the chowkidar of the village the occurrence in his family of every birth, marriage and death of a female as aforesaid, and also the illness of any female child. He is also to produce all children of his family for the inspection of a Police officer,

not below the rank of a Deputy Inspector, visiting the village, when required to produce them.

Every midwife knowing of, or having reason to believe in, the occurrence in a proclaimed family in the village in which she resides, of a birth, or of the illness of a new-born child, is at once to report the fact to the chowkidar of the village.

It is the duty of the chowkidar to report immediately to the officer in charge of a Police station the occurrence of a birth, whether male or a female, in a proclaimed family, the marriage of a female, the death of an unmarried female, or a married female under twelve years, and not living with her husband, the illness of a female child and the removal of a pregnant woman to another village. He is also, on the occasions of his periodical visit to the Police station, to report pregnancies which have been reported to him, or have come to his knowledge.

The lambardars of each village are held responsible for the due performance by the chowkidars of the duties imposed upon them, and it has been laid down as their duty to render all assistance in their power to the Police in drawing up Register A, and in obtaining information of all births, marriages and deaths occurring in proclaimed families.

Among the Jats of the villages to which the rules apply, no person giving a female in marriage is to incur any expense, upon any ceremony or custom connected with her marriage, in excess of that specified by the rules. Similarly, no person receiving a female into his family in marriage, is to incur, on account of the marriage or any ceremony or custom connected therewith, expenses exceeding the total of the list specified by the rules.

It is the duty of the father or other head of the family celebrating the marriage to produce immediately before the Deputy Commissioner, or an officer deputed by him, on demand by the same, an account showing the actual expenses incurred, and to prove the correctness of the said account.

All expenses incurred in carrying the above rules into effect to be recoverable as an arrear of land revenue from the Jats of the promulgated village.

18. It would appear that Pandit Motí Lál was in favour

The rules very much in conformity with Pandit Motí Lál's views.

of the employment of the Patwari and Lambardari agency for watching expectant mothers. He advocated European supervision, the employment of a European midwife in suspected towns who, he thought, should be present at the time of each confinement, and the attendance of a Sub-Assistant Surgeon (now called Assistant Surgeon). With regard to Sub-Assistant Surgeons and English midwives,

Sir Donald observed: "But I very much doubt the practicability of having a Sub-Assistant Surgeon located in each suspected town, and still more so as respects locating a European midwife, as respectable persons of this class must be most difficult to procure."

With the exception of medical agency and the employment of European midwives, the rules framed by the Local Government are, in effect, very much the same as those proposed by Pandit Motí Lál. The utilisation of the Lambardar's services, the responsibility of native midwives, the supervision of Police, and the levy from zamindars of expenses incurred in carrying the rules into effect, were proposed by him.

19. The Act came into operation twenty-six years ago, and the

The repressive measures adopted prove of no avail.

rules have been in force for twelve years, but with what result? As ascertained in three districts of the Panjab (Jallandhar, Ludhiana and Ferozpur, to which

the rules were made applicable in particular villages) there has been no improvement, and, in the words of Colonel Massy, the Commissioner of Jallandhar division, "the evil is now almost as glaring as before the introduction of the Act." For instance, Mr. Douie shows, as the result of his enquiry, that in six out of the nine villages in Jallandhar that have been brought under the operation of the Act, the number of female children under five years of age among the Sikhs is from 39 to 49 per cent. of the male children of the same age. It is thus clear that the repressive measures taken in the proclaimed villages have been of no avail.

The views of Colonel Massy.

Colonel Massy suggests, as a general remedy, the discouragement of extravagant expenditure on marriages "by all the persuasive influence which our administrative machinery can command." "I think we must," continues the Commissioner, "wait for a few years to gauge the effect of the movement for cheaper marriages (to be supported by legal authority, if later on found necessary) before applying any penal provisions broadcast to the Sikhs or Hindús in repression of infanticide."

20. In the suggested modification of the rules, the neces-

Suggested modification of rules.

sity of preparing the Register through the Police has been avoided, as in certain cases the Register may be kept by the Medical Officer. By existing rules, it is the duty of the head of the proclaimed family to report immediately to the chowkidar the occurrence of every birth, marriage and death of a female under twelve. By the proposed rules the report is to be made to the Lambardar through whom the revenue is paid. The Local Government shall, by the new rules,

have power to appoint a Medical Officer not below the rank of Hospital Assistant for the purpose of carrying out and supervising the provisions of the rules. Zeldars and Inamdars have been also bound to render every assistance in carrying out the provisions of the Act, and of all the rules framed thereunder. Another new and important feature of the proposed rules is that, while by the existing rules no person to whom they apply is to spend money on a marriage ceremony in excess of that specified by the rules, the proposed rules empower the District Magistrate, with the sanction of the Commissioner, to fix such expenses for the particular tribe of which he is a member. Thus, all residents, and not only proclaimed tribes, have been subjected to restrictions of marriage expenses.

21. His Honour Sir Dennis Fitzpatrick, Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjab, feels very doubtful on the whole question. He does not think much could be done in the way of checking female infanticide by limiting the marriage expenses. "No doubt," observes His Honour, "the restriction of marriage expenses has, from the first, formed part of the scheme for suppressing Female infanticide, and we have the authority of great names for including it in that scheme, but the Lieutenant-Governor cannot find that it has ever really been tried, and he feels so many doubts about it that he would prefer not to set about actually and effectually enforcing it until he learns what our officers generally, and in particular those of Lahore district who have not yet been consulted, have to say on the matter." His Honour quotes Lord Lawrence on the subject of Female Infanticide. His Lordship said :—

"To insure this great result, we must effect a radical change in the feelings, the prejudices, and the social customs of the people themselves," "and *that*," observes Sir Dennis,—"*it will be admitted, is not an easy thing for a Government like ours to do.*"

22. With much deference to the opinion of the proposers of the amended rules, I do not think the rules as modified will, when put into force, have the effect of checking the evil to any appreciable extent. The proposal to have recourse to medical agency was first suggested by Pandit Motí Lál in 1870. Mr. Douie, in para 21 of his Report, has referred to a similar suggestion made by Mr. Leslie Saunders in 1871. The Pandit thought that Assistant Surgeons and English midwives should be appointed to watch the birth, &c., of female infants. Sir Donald McLeod, however, considered it to be impracticable.

cable. Although, no doubt, Hospital Assistants can, as now suggested, be conveniently posted in certain localities, yet the question is whether they, as a rule, belong to such a class of Government servants, having regard to their antecedents, education and status in life, as could be trusted for such a work? I don't think they do. The honesty of these Hospital Assistants is too well known. When required to give medical evidence in court, a present of a few rupees by the accused is sufficient to induce them to state on oath that the injury caused is only a hurt, although to naked eye it may be really a grievous hurt. How such a class of men could be trusted for this work, it is difficult to understand.

23. The Chowkidar's agency in reporting birth, illness, marriage and death of a girl of a certain age has been done away with. But the substitution of Lambardars for Chowkidars for the purpose, will, in my opinion, be of as little avail in securing the desired object as the system already in vogue. It is a well known fact, and I have ascertained this from the best informed persons in my recent tour in the district, that the introduction of the rules to suppress the murder of female children has proved a source of gain to the Lambardars. Why it has been so, will be explained further on. Their respective fees, or blackmail, for reporting the death of a female child are a fixed charge on the head of the family concerned, and no Chowkidar, or Lambardar, would put his seal on his report (vulgarly called the *Panchayat Nama*), without first putting the money in his pocket. Rupees 7 is the ordinary fee levied, of which, I am told, Rs. 2 goes to the Chowkidar and Rs. 5 to the lambardar of the Patti concerned. This is for the occurrence of ordinary deaths. For suspected deaths, the charges are more, according to the nature of each case and the surrounding circumstances. Again, it may be properly asked who are the Lambardars whose assistance it is desired to secure? The very men who perpetrate the offence themselves; the very persons who connive at these offences; persons who belong to the same village, whose sympathies are all with their own tribesmen, kindred and friends, who, as recognised heads of their respective clans and communities, are looked upon by their inferiors and subordinates to shelter them, and who, notwithstanding the blackmail they impose and the money they extort, obtain the approbation and applause of their fellow-villagers for sheltering them. Can such men be trusted for such a work? The fact is that, until their working is closely supervised, the more strict the rules are, the more remunerative they will prove to the Lambardars.

24. The addition of the Zeldar and Inamdar's responsibility

Zeldar's Agency. can mean only one thing. It will give them additional power to squeeze out money from the zamindars, who will have been already put to straits by the Lambardars. But the existing rules already make the lambardars responsible for rendering every assistance in working the rules. It is also the bounden duty of all Lambardars and Zeldars, under the Revenue rules, to aid the authorities in carrying out all measures affecting the safety of public life and property. To make fresh provision for what is already their duty, under the present rules, can scarcely lead to any practical result.

25. As for the hospital assistants whom, where practicable, it is proposed to substitute for Deputy Hospital Assistants. Inspectors of Police, or officers in charge of Police stations, it is evident how poorly paid these subordinate officials of the Medical Department are. I have already described their general tendencies in a preceding clause. Generally speaking, a present of Rs. 5 would be sufficient to induce such an official to report favourably any suspected case. Indeed, his fees or present, will be fixed for each case in which he may have to visit a locality, be the death of the female child from natural or unnatural causes. If at a minimum he visits five places in a month, then, at the rate of Rs. 5 a case, the lowest rate, his income would be 25 Rs. a month, and he will have earned almost as much more as his monthly salary, and will he not bless his stars for the pleasant duty imposed on him? There may be exceptions to this ; but we have to judge the whole body from their present state of education and standard of morality.

26. Now, the remedies suggested being likely to fail, the question arises what steps to adopt to prevent the perpetration of the offence. Difficulties in the way of detection of crime. I do not propose repeating what has been already said, how ingeniously female children are murdered, which has rendered detection a most puzzling and difficult a task. This being so, it can be well imagined how difficult it would be to bring the offence home to a suspected person, even if the integrity of the officers charged with the control—I mean the village head-men and Hospital Assistants—could be trusted, and even if all the parties concerned in the control acted in good faith, which so far as I can think, is a hope that should not for a moment be entertained in the present state of the country. There can be no rule by which a female child could be closely and constantly watched, every moment from the time of birth to a given age, and, this being so, the child is entirely at the mercy of its parents or protectors. A mother's affection for her infant child being natural, it is, I under-

stand, the mother-in-law who, in most instances, persuades or compels her daughter-in-law to perpetrate the offence herself, or allow it to be perpetrated in the way noted by the District Officers. Besides suffocation, administration of opium, exposure and neglect, there is another way of disposing of female infants, not generally known. It is administering to the infant a few drops of *asclepias gigantea*, a plant resembling milk, which produces poisonous effects and results in immediate death without any chance of detection. So far as I have been able to ascertain, female infants are, for the most part, or 95 out of 100 cases, murdered immediately after birth. It is seldom that a grown up child is murdered, even when it is nourished by the mother's milk.

27. The offence of Female infanticide is not confined to the

The offence not confined to the three districts of the Panjab referred to in Government correspondence.

three districts of Jallandhar, Ludhiana and Ferozpur, mentioned in the correspondence published by the Panjab Government. The practice is in full force in Kangra, Multan, Jhang, and other districts of the Panjab. It is not limited to the Jats and Rajputs, but extends to the Khattris. It is well known that the Khattris of the Multan district kill their first offspring if it proves to be a female, because they think its birth unpropitious. If the first offspring proves to be a son, they regard it as fortunate. The Bedis, a religious sect, kill their daughters because they cannot, according to their notions, marry her to a man of less rank and less religious importance than their own. They would not marry her to a poor man, and, to avoid these troubles, they put an end to her life. In Nurpur, zilah Kangra, the offence is very rife. A gentleman of standing, a native of Kangra, related to me, the other day, the instance of a Deputy Inspector of Police, a Hindu Rajput, who was his friend. On enquiry whether he had any children born to him, the Deputy Inspector answered:—"Yes, I had the misfortune to have two daughters, but I have despatched both of them. May *Ishwar* (God) now bless me with a son." Such is the story told of a Police Officer, and I am convinced of its truth.

28. Col. Massy has dwelt at some length on the motives for killing female infants. He observes

Motives for committing the crime.

that "the Sikh is a lover of money, and, foreseeing the expense a daughter will put him to, he rids himself of her as early as possible, being deterred by no scruple of affection or morality." "We must not forget," adds the Commissioner, "that the Hindú also, as shown by the statistics, puts his daughter out of the way, though not on the same startling scale."

29. Now, the power of men predominating over that of the tender sex, and nature having gifted the male sex with superior physical and mental qualities over females, the birth of a male child is hailed with special joy in all nations—in all countries.* In India, where the population consists chiefly of two great sects—Hindus and Mahomedans,—the feelings of each differ vastly from those of the other on the birth of a female offspring. A Mahomedan father, while he would be overjoyed by the birth of a son, and regard it as a blessing from Heaven, would not be sorry at the birth of a daughter, or look on it as a source of calamity, but would not be so glad on the occasion as he would be at being gifted with a son. At all events, glad he will be and content with what has been given him, never grumbling or murmuring over his fate. Speaking of a poor man, if a son has born him, a neighbour, or a relation or a friend would tell him: "Friend (or brother), You are very lucky. I congratulate you heartily on the gift of a son to you." The person addressed would joyfully reply: "I return the congratulations to you, brother; *Alhamdo-Lillah* (God be praised) for having gifted a worthless man like me with a son." And the friend will rejoin: "May the child live long and grow old under the care of its parents—Amen!"

If he becomes the father of a daughter, still he will receive the congratulations of his friends; but, on such occasions, the faces of the persons congratulating and of those congratulated will not be found flushing with joy, as they would invariably be on the birth of a male child. The female apartments would still be found filled with merriment, and pleasurable pursuits would follow. But the musicians, eunuchs, singers and menials will not, in this instance, come to the door of the house, or perform their music and make a noise to ask for a money present or a reward in kind, as they would on the birth of a son. Such are the customs observed by the Mahomedans on the birth of a son and daughter.

A Hindu would, on the other hand, regard the birth of a daughter as a calamity, because she would prove a source of expense to him, both in the un-married and in the married condition. So long as she remains un-married, she is of no use so far as earning money, so much essential to Hindu caste, is concerned, while a boy is taught to learn a petty trade and

* The Pyramids of Egypt afford convincing testimony to the inferior position given to woman compared with man from the remotest antiquity. The subordination is indicated in statuary by her representation being on an unduly smaller scale, and by her ordinary position, which is behind the figure of her "Lord and Master."

proves a source of income as soon as he grows up sufficiently and is able to understand something about business. When married, she must be provided with a suitable dowry (not speaking of the heavy expenses to be incurred in her marriage); and there are numerous other occasions and festivities when presents must be sent to her, and her husband and children besides, if she has become the mother of children. So, the birth of a daughter among the Hindus, generally speaking, casts a gloom over the whole family circle. No congratulations of any kind, no demonstrations of joy or marks of pleasure, follow the event. A friend would say to the father of a newly-born girl—"So a daughter is born to you. Don't lose your mind, brother; Ram will one day endow you with a son." The disappointed father would reply, touching his right hand with his forehead, "My *Pralabad* (Fate); what can be done? May she have been born at a propitious moment and bring *Lachmi* (Wealth) in her train."

30. A Hindu is, from his birth, a lover of money. From his boyhood, he is taught habits of frugality and economy. If he is the son of a shopkeeper, he will be taught to sell petty articles for cowries, collect them and make pice of them, and from pice make rupees. When a few rupees were collected, the father would make a gold ring for him, and the boy would wear it with pride, or keep it by him, and having thus tasted the fruit of his industry, would then, with redoubled zeal, resume his pursuit of hoarding up cowries or pice according to the nature of his petty trade. If the parents are residing in a village, the boy will be sent to a village *Pandha*, where the first lesson taught him will be to commit to memory the rules of multiplication such as 1 and 1 make 2, twice 2 make 4, 4 times 4 make 16, and so on, up to hundreds and thousands. He will be heard repeating loudly in lanes and streets:—*Ek duni duni, do duni chāre, chār duni āthe*, and so on. Thus, the first lessons taught him are rules of multiplication which serve as the basis of his life, giving him a taste for accounts, and making him a ready reckoner and methodical in after-life. The accounts, which he is taught in this way, tend greatly to form his character and make him a man of business. The rules which he learns at a very young age, remain fresh in his memory all his lifetime, and until he himself becomes a father and a grandfather. If the parents are living in a town or city, he will be sent to the nearest lane school to learn the same rules by heart. In this way habits of thrift are implanted in the minds of little boys, and this serves to make them practical men of business in after-life.

31. A Mahomedan lad, when he reaches the school age

Extravagance of Mahomedans.

is first sent to a mosque to read the Quran, of which not only he but his tutor, too, can understand not a word. It is taught like a lesson to a parrot. The parents, however poor, think it their duty to feed the boy well and supply him, if their means allow, with any thing he wants, simply to keep up his spirits and not to discourage him. If they neglect this, they expose themselves to the taunts and scoffs of their friends and those among whom they live. Eating heartily, living well and being well clothed are what he sees invariably practised all round, and he imitates all these examples as best as he can. When he grows into manhood, his aim in life, generally speaking, becomes to enjoy it to the best of his ability and means. Many enjoy it, even beyond their means.

32. The social customs among Hindus and Mahomedans differ greatly from each other. While their domestic economy greatly at variance from each other. the former observe economy in all their dealings in life, the latter care little for money and are generally extravagant in all their worldly transactions and religious observances. A Hindu *Sahukar* and a well-to-do man, who is head of a family, would regard it as a luxury to partake of meat once a fortnight, or if he were extravagant enough, once a week, and would have pleasant recollections of its taste until another fortnight or week rolled on, and the fixed day for indulgence of a same or similar luxury came round. The female or old members of the household, and children and other members less important, are treated as inferior beings to whom the taste of flesh is quite unknown. A Hindu of ordinary means considers it quite sufficient for the purpose of living if he can be served with bread of wheat and fried meal cakes or pickles for his meals. But a Mahomedan, even if he is a water-carrier, or a syce, must have a soup made of meat on his table, even though it be worth only a pice or two, owing to his scanty means. Whatever he will earn, he will spend in eating and clothing, and leave nothing behind to meet emergencies. If he is a rich man, the demands on his purse are proportionately heavy. There is a well known saying that "Hindus are to collect money, and Mahomedans to enjoy it."

33. It may be asked why this great difference between the modes of life of the two great sects of India, living in the same country and bred and brought up in the same atmosphere? The answer is plain. The habits of extravagance, indolence and arrogance which they inherited from their immediate forefathers, who, as a consequence of their having imbibed these pernicious habits, lost their supremacy as a ruling race, have

not yet forsaken them. They have not been taught to value the money they earn, or the wealth they acquire from their ancestors, nor have they learnt to value the time they have at their disposal and command. The training given them is to live in ease and not to depress the spirits, but to keep them lively and fresh, and this can not be done without sacrifice of money. They have become habitually idle and lost the habits of perseverance, activity, energy, fortitude and manly courage which once characterised the members of their community in a prominent degree, and were the cause of the prevalence of their power in the remotest parts of the world.

The Hindus, on the other hand, have gained the good and manly qualities which their Mahomedan brethren, through their own folly, have lost. Humility, forbearance and habits of industry and frugality, are the valued inheritance left to them by their forefathers, and, these excellent qualities being implanted in their nature, they spend with prudent economy what they earn. This has taught them habits of good husbandry and they become thrifty traders and speculative merchants, if they are leading an independent life, and industrious and attentive to duty, if they have taken to any profession of art, or if they are in the service of Government or in private employ.

34. I have shown that it is the love of money which has induced Hindus generally to treat their girls with contempt and neglect, and even to destroy their life. It is the disregard for money and indifference

A Mahomedan's respect for child of any sex born to him.

to worldly means that has led Mahomedans to treat whatever is given them by Providence, son or daughter, with equal feelings of affection and regard. The proof of this is clear, for, notwithstanding the general poverty of the Mahomedans throughout India, not a single instance has been heard of their having killed anywhere an infant daughter. Go, for instance, into a weaver's house. You will, in many instances, meet a number of little girls clothed in rags and poorly fed; but the head of the family, however poor, will never think of depriving any of them of its life. He would rather beg alms to support them. The same will be found to be the case with all Mahomedans of the poorer classes.

35. Love of money seems to have been a characteristic of the Hindus since a time anterior to the Mahomedan conquest of India; and this, coupled with the pride of race and a sense of disgrace in having a

The real cause that underlies the pernicious custom.

foreigner as the husband lord of a daughter, seems to be the reason which led the Hindus in ancient times to commit

this horrible crime. The same considerations actuate them to the present day to perpetrate the offence. Female child-murder grew into a custom among certain sects of the Hindus by degrees.

That pernicious custom, as already observed, was put a stop to during the rigid Mahomedan rule, owing to the loss of Hindu independence. It was renewed as the Mahomedan monarchy collapsed. It revived with great force during the long period of anarchy that followed the collapse of Mahomedan rule.

36. The causes of female infanticide being glaring, it now remains to consider what remedies can be advantageously adopted to suppress the practice. Before answering the question, it may be as well to consider why the measures already introduced by the Government to suppress the crime have failed to realise their object, *viz.*, to mitigate the offence or to do away with it altogether. That great authority, Lord Lawrence, quoted by Mr. Douie in his note, writing as Chief Commissioner of the Panjab, in 1853, expressed his opinion on remedial measures as follows:—

“The present influence of British officers, the knowledge that they take an interest in the matter, a desire by the people to stand well in the eyes of their rulers, and lastly, the fear of punishment, will doubtless, from year to year, operate in diminishing the crime.

“The Chief Commissioner strongly deprecates any strict system of supervision by the Police, for it is certain to be impotent for all good, and liable to be used as an engine of extortion and oppression.

“A system of espionage is but too likely to enlist the feelings of the people against our efforts, and thus furnish a powerful inducement to thwart them. If we can once get influential natives to set their faces against Female infanticide, to consider it a crime and a disgrace, our eventual success may be deemed certain.”

I may here say, without fear of contradiction, that Great Britain has sent many of her worthy sons on the soil of India to govern that country, and they acquired great name and fame by their Indian career, but not a single one of her statesmen can claim to have had that intimate knowledge of the country and its people, and that thorough insight into their social usages and customs which the high-minded and noble Sir John Lawrence possessed. He had the sympathy of the people at heart, and he loved the people as the people loved him. He knew their wants and shortcomings, and how best to remove them. In short, he thoroughly understood the native character, and fully identified himself with their interests.

37. In my humble opinion the remedies adopted have failed

Reasons why the preventive measures adopted proved a failure.

to secure their object, because the whole-some advice given by Sir John Lawrence has not been heeded—not only no care seems to have been taken strictly to follow his advice, but in some instances action has been taken contrary to his suggestions. For instance, the rules give the upper hand to the Police, although Sir John strongly deprecated such a course. The result has been that the power given to it, has been used, to use Sir John's own words, "as an engine of extortion and oppression." No lively interest, I am afraid, is taken by the District Officers in devising and adopting measures for the suppression of the crime, and they have considered other duties of an executive nature to be of far more importance. One great cause, then, in my humble opinion, of the failure of the scheme laid down, is want of proper attention on the part of the District Officers. The reason is that they are subjected to constant changes, and no Deputy Commissioner is allowed to remain for a sufficiently long period in a District to enable him to pay proper attention to the subject, to acquire knowledge of it, to consider it in all its bearings, to mature his plans for removing the evil, and to watch the progress of events with reference to his measures, and to witness their essential success. To work out the scheme with any degree of success, it is very desirable that District Officers should take the matter to heart. Above all, it is necessary for them to speak in earnestness to the leading men of the District, ask their advice and suggestions, and express their own views on the subject. In the absence of such a course, how can we assure "the knowledge" by these men that the British officers "take an interest in the matter," on which Sir John laid so much stress in his observations. There is no doubt that much depends on the chief controlling authority of the District in this way of success and much improvement can be effected by him, if he only has time, opportunity, and the will to carry out this much-needed reform. Many have, of course, the will to carry out the measures, but they are so peculiarly circumstanced that they cannot pay adequate attention to the subject, and in the midst of their useful work, their connection with the District is suddenly severed.

I repeat that the great Sir John Lawrence had special opportunities of obtaining an insight into the character and domestic economy of the people of India, and he fully adapted his great genius and exceptional capabilities to meet their real requirements and wants. No doubt, we are living in an age of progress and of enlightenment, of which we see abundant

proof in every-day life ; but it would be a mistake to pass over with indifference advice based on a life of experience, by a man of such singular genius as Sir John was. What he expressed as his opinion nearly half a century ago, holds good to this day.

38. If some improvement has been effected in preventing the practice complained of, that is most assuredly the result of the universal harmony that prevails in the country, and the general discipline and excellent arrangements by which the British laws are administered in the country, and the fear and awe they inspire, not the result of the special enactment relating to Female infanticide and the rules framed thereunder.

Any success achieved, not a result of the special Law introduced.

39. The Indians are as a race, by nature loyal to their rulers and masters ; for the religion of both Hindus and Mahomedans teaches them to be true to their salt and faithful to their sovereign and lord. The religious susceptibilities of no nation on earth are so delicate as those of the Indians. Religion is to them their sole guide of action in life, and they have been, and will ever be, ready to sacrifice their life and wealth to preserve its honour. And since loyalty to the sovereign is strictly enjoined by the laws of the Shastras and the Quran, it is no new thing for Indians to flatter their rulers and masters and try to please them in every way in their power. To prove this, one need only refer to the pages of Indian History, and he will scarcely meet a period of history in which he will not find remarkable examples of obedience, fidelity, humility and subordination on the part of inferiors towards their superiors. Some may construe humility and subservience into vain sycophancy, but a little reflection would make the line between the two quite distinguishable. There have been numerous precedents of devotion to the cause of the master, and noble examples of sacrifice to uphold his cause. A slight hint by British officers, in kindly words spoken, is doubtless sufficient to rouse the energy of the leading men to carry out their wishes. "Influential natives" are too anxious to avail themselves of any opportunity that may be given them to please British officers and to secure their good-will. But, seeing that little or no interest is taken by them in a subject, they are not sufficiently enlightened as yet to take the initiative in it themselves.

How anxious influential natives are to please British officers.

40. Having described the causes of the failure, I will now suggest the remedies. I have shown at the outset of this article that the

Remedies for the evil.

crime of Female infanticide among the Hindus is not of recent growth. It was known in remote antiquity, and, whatever the motives (namely, whether pride of race and supposed disgrace of having a son-in-law, or, considerations of economy), it prevailed, in a greater or less degree, in all ages since the dawn of history. How difficult it is to annihilate this practice grown into a custom among certain tribes, is evident, from the fact that, under the very nose of the vigilant Police, and in spite of the strict provisions of the Indian Penal Code (I would not mention here the special enactment to suppress Female infanticide, for nothing is left in the Indian Penal Code for punishment, if only its provisions, so far as they affect the destruction of human life, had been strictly enforced, and it is evident that the special legislation and the rules under it have been barren of any result), the crime complained of is as ripe as ever. The only difference lies in this, that, while formerly, namely, before the British Rule, or before the introduction of the Indian Penal Code, the offence was perpetrated either openly, or without recourse to much skill and ingenuity to conceal it, it is now, through fear of the law and punishment, committed with the utmost secrecy and with such cleverness as to avoid all possible chance of detection. The matter involved being so serious as the loss of human life, and the remedies applied having proved to be quite useless, I would strongly urge the adoption of coercive measures by the Government. I know it would be quite impossible for so humane and just a Government as ours to adopt such measures for the suppression of the crime as the dictates of reason, conscience and humanity would disallow. What would not a barbarous, despotic Government do on such an occasion, finding it a good pretext to fill its Treasury. What would not many of India's own native rulers have done on such an occasion, in old days, in the name of humanity, but really to squeeze money out of the people. What I would suggest will not be a novel or a new thing, contrary to the practice of the Government. Does not the Government post Punitive Police in certain towns and villages on account of serious disorderly behaviour, disturbance of the public peace and other habitual crimes affecting the safety of public life and property and the good discipline of the Government? On the same principle, I would urge, not the posting of Punitive Police, but the imposition of a penalty of not less than half the amount of revenue paid by the tribes concerned in case of the proclaimed villages till such time as it could be proved by statistics that the proportion of living male and female children under six or eight years of age was almost equal, or the number of each was within such limit as to show no startling or extra-

ordinary difference. I would not urge the posting of Punitive Police because of the hardship that results from the practice, and the incalculable annoyance and vexation the Policemen give to the villagers. Let the experiment suggested be tried, and I am sure it will act like magic. It will so act, because it will affect the entire village subjected to such penalty. It will affect alike the guilty and those bearing the appearance of innocence. I say, bearing the appearance of innocence, because we do not know whether they are really guilty or not.

41. One great cause of entire failure in bringing the offence home to the perpetrators, is the *combination and union of all the villagers* in concealing the crime. What can the Police, a Medical Officer, or a Magistrate do, under such circumstances? Substitute a Lambardar for a Chowkidar or a Zeldar for a Lambardar, or a Hospital Assistant for a Police sergeant; do anything you like in this way, it will amount to the same thing. It will prove a mere verbal alteration and nothing more. And why? Because the very men, Lambardars and Zeldars, are interested by ties of relationship, affection, social connections, constant associations and intercourse in protecting and screening the offenders. All their sympathies are naturally with them. A Lambardar would lend a helping hand to a criminal of this kind, because he expects in return the same help from him when he himself some day or other commits a similar offence. My own experience of the tracts affected by this pernicious practice is that a perpetrator of the offence of Female infanticide is looked upon by the village community as a hero of his nation, and everybody in the village zealously tries his best to counteract the efforts of the authorities to bring the offender to justice. Even the authorities would never know what had come to pass, nor would they have the means of knowing it when the offence had been once perpetrated. Even the women living in the immediate neighbourhood of the locality where the offence might have been committed would not dare disclose the secret, although they must be, and were, fully cognisant of it.

42. I have said elsewhere that the rules framed under the Female Infanticide Act have, under a lax system of supervision, proved a source of income to the Lambardars, and that if the same laxity continues, the more strict their provisions, the more remunerative they will prove to the Lambardars. Where matters are arranged with mutual understanding and terms amicably settled, it is of no consequence whether the demand is extortionate, or the ill-gain the consequence of

threats or undue influence exercised. My own idea is that no force is exercised in obtaining money, for, if such were the practice, discontent and consequent disclosure would have been the result. So far as my enquiries go, the reward is fixed, is offered and is gladly accepted; if the village headman wants more, more is given to him ungrudgingly, with due regard to the circumstances of the person making the offer. At all events, all is passed on quietly; no murmur of any kind by one person against another is heard. The utmost secrecy is observed throughout.

43 Under the circumstances above set forth, Government Coercive measures how justifiable. would be perfectly justified in subjecting the whole village to penalty in the way suggested, on the principle observed in the case of populations who disturb the public peace by riotous conduct and disorderly behaviour. In villages and towns subjected to Punitive Police posts only considerations of order and good discipline induce the Government to bring the machinery of supreme power into operation. Here the question involved is one of life and death. It is by far more serious than any considerations of preservation of the public peace when that is endangered. It affects one sex of human beings constituting half the population of the country whose care has, by the mysterious decree of Providence, been entrusted to the British nation, a nation whose great Mission in the world is to protect God's people brought under its sway, and to raise them in the scale of nations; and in the fulfilment of that sacred Mission lies the chief glory of that nation. It is the duty, I emphatically urge, of such a humane Government to devise measures for the protection of the lives of innocent infants of one sex, who, it knows, are destroyed by unscrupulous, selfish and merciless parents. Happily the British Government fully recognises this duty, but is at a loss to find a way of carrying it out compatibly with its just laws. I have here suggested a remedy which, I feel sure, would have the result of extirpating the evil at no distant date.

44. I am strongly of opinion that nothing short of the course suggested is likely to have the result of effectually suppressing the crime. British officers think, and rightly no doubt, that extravagant marriage expenses underlie the whole criminal action on the part of the tribes given to the practice of Female infanticide. As a remedy, a limit has been put by the Government rules to marriage expenses for each tribe. But people are given to the habit of spending money on marriages beyond their means from ages and ages. The evil has not sprung up in the country

Extravagant marriage expenses—a deep-rooted custom.

in British times. It has existed since the Hindu period. It

It is in full force among Mahomedans. prevails all over India. It is not confined to the Hindus alone, but extends in equal degree to the Mahomedans.

Thus, according to strict Mahomedan law only a small dowry need be given to a daughter on her marriage. When the prophet Mahomed married his daughter Fatima to Ali, he gave a grinding mill, an iron pan for baking bread, an earthen chimney, and a suit of plain dress to the bride as her dowry. But the Mahomedans of India, following the custom of their Hindu brethren, have gone to excess in the matter of dowry for daughters, and many of them reach the brink of ruin or actual ruin in marrying them. They have in India followed many other customs of their Hindu countrymen which are prohibited by the laws of Mahomed. For instance, a strict *Purda* custom of females (namely keeping them concealed in houses) is not a Mahomedan custom, nor is it observed in Mahomedan countries like Arabia, Egypt, &c. What is enjoined by the Mahomedan law for women is to conceal the face by a veil. Females of all classes in Mahomedan countries walk about the streets and transact business like men. In India, however, such is not the case. The Hindus, whom the Mahomedans imitated, have now become rather lax in the matter of *Purda*, but the Mahomedans of the higher and middle classes observe the custom strictly. Giving extravagant dowry to daughters is strictly a Hindu custom, followed in India by Mahomedans who, on that account, are not known to pollute their hands with the blood of their infant daughters.

45. Very little hopes of success can be entertained from the introduction of the rules as to compulsory reduction of marriage expenses. As the rules have proved fruitless in the past, so they are most likely to prove in the future. What do the zamindars care for a fine of Rs. 10, or 15, or even 100, after incurring expenses beyond the prescribed limit. Mr. Douie suggests that imprisonment might be made compulsory for breaking the rule. I do not think that even would do any real good. The tribes would consider undergoing imprisonment a meritorious act, and they would gladly suffer it, rather than stand in a degraded condition before the brotherhood. Until a radical change is effected in the constitution of Indian society and in the mode of living, and until the social rules of the Indians undergo a change, no effort of the Government can succeed in suppressing a custom, the observance of which has prevailed for centuries and centuries, and which their ancestors have observed as far back as can be traced. If it can be eradicated at all, it will only be by their own voluntary and joint effort.

46. Nor can any external force, however strong, operate to demolish the custom. Pandit Behari Lál, late Extra Assistant Commissioner, Amritsar, Mr. C. E. Gladstone, C.S., in the Ambala and Jalandhar districts, and many public Societies in other Districts, tried their best at different times to abolish evil and obnoxious customs, but all their efforts to effect anything even approaching improvement signally failed. The late Dewan Râm Jas of Kapurthalla succeeded in effecting an improvement in curtailing marriage and death expenses among the Khatri Aroras ; but the rules have become lax, and I am afraid the moving spirit being no more, a few years hence the heads of the tribes who have put their signatures on written agreements, will relapse to old customs. Similarly, the rules framed for different tribes by Mr. Gladstone for curtailment of expenses on marriages and deaths, to which the different headmen of tribes, with apparent sincerity and zeal, put their seals and signatures, are only on paper and known only for the utter disregard of them. The fact of the matter is that no individual effort can have the effect of demolishing an established custom. In Amritsar, for instance, Pandit Behari Lál took agreements in the name of the local Anjuman, or *Sabha*, binding the Hindu castes to prevent their women from singing obscene songs in streets. The Lahore *Sabha* also followed the example of the sister institution in Amritsar. The practice, though stopped for a time, is as vigorously in force in both cities as ever. In Jhang I and my lamented friend Dr. Chetanshah, Civil Surgeon, started an Anjuman in 1881 with Mr. C. A. Roe, C.S., (now Chief Judge of the Panjab Chief Court) for its patron. All the representatives of the different Hindu castes solemnly agreed before us to curtail expenses on marriages and deaths (lists limiting the expenses of the various ceremonies connected with the occasions having been prepared by the tribes themselves), to prevent females from bathing naked on the river banks and *ghats*, from singing obscene songs in the streets, from attending certain public fairs where they were not required and where their presence was considered to be objectionable, as opposed to decency and rectitude. The reforms introduced were carried out with apparent zeal, and we had sanguine hopes of success ; but as soon as we had left the district, people took to their old practices and all our efforts to improve their social condition failed.

47. It is possible that success may attend Government efforts to reduce marriage expenses in some remote future, provided the people themselves are in favour of it and recognise the necessity of the step, but how

Urgency of adopting some effectual steps to prevent the practice.

many thousand innocent infants would, through the merciless hands of unscrupulous parents, have perished by that time. It is quite necessary, therefore, that some such steps be adopted by the Government, as may have the result of perceptibly diminishing the crime, if not suppressing it altogether.

48. I have observed before that the offence of Female infanticide baffles all detection, owing to the combination of the village people and their sympathy with the perpetrators of the offence, who must presumably be fully known to them. The suggestion made by me, namely, of subjecting the proclaimed tribes in certain villages to a penalty, will, of course, affect both the guilty and the innocent. But where the guilty person is not known and the villagers shelter him, Government would be justified in subjecting the whole population of a particular class in a proclaimed village to punishment, on the same principle on which such penalty is enforced, in the shape of Punitive Police, against other towns and villages now. The advantage of such a course will be this: a really innocent man who, as well as the guilty, would have to pay his share of the penalty, but who knows who the culprit is, would say to the latter: "Well, why I should be made to suffer for your guilt; either mend your ways or I shall report you to the authorities." The man in fault may be able to satisfy one or two individuals by flattery or by offers of money, but he would not be able to satisfy all the villagers in these ways. Mutual jealousy would be the result, which would very likely result in a conviction being secured. Or the zamindars, to avoid worry and the heavy burden of the penalty, will make such arrangements among themselves as will have the result of sensibly diminishing the crime, or extirpating it at no distant date.

49. In my opinion, the remedy above mentioned is the best that can be adopted. But should the Government be unwilling to have recourse to such a measure, I would then, in view of the observations already made, make the following suggestions:—

1. That Officers of mature experience and old standing be appointed Deputy Commissioners of the districts in which the proclaimed villages are situated, and that these be not subjected to constant changes and transfers. As a rule, they ought to remain in the district to which they are attached for at least a period of five years.
 2. That their duties in connection with Female infanticide should be specifically laid down:—
- (A).—They ought to speak to leading men of the district on the subject, make suggestions to them, ask

their advice, weigh how far it is worth adoption, and agitate the matter as best as they can.

(B).—They must associate with them, in their work, their Revenue Assistant, who is constantly on tour and has ample opportunities of making enquiries on the spot and devising measures to stop the crime and of detecting it when perpetrated. If not a Revenue Assistant, some other native Extra-Assistant Commissioner or Extra-Judicial Assistant of long standing and experience, or of known and exceptional ability, must be associated. I must frankly say, however a European Officer may claim to have a knowledge of the country, and however intimate he may be with the people and liked and respected by them, he cannot have those means of ascertaining the real state of affairs which a Native Officer born and brought up in the country has. Such Native Officer (not below the rank of an Extra Assistant Commissioner) must be *ex-officio* a member of the District Board.

(C).—That the Native Officer should receive his instructions from the Deputy Commissioner from time to time as to how he is to act in the matter.

(D).—That the Native Officer should lay before the Deputy Commissioner at each general meeting of the District Board, a report on the measures adopted to suppress the crime. The Deputy Commissioner should then discuss the points noted in the Report, or any other points that may arise, with the members present, and give them full opportunity to express their views,—or to represent personally in what way any of them has exerted himself in attaining the end wished for, and with what degree of success.

3. That the Native Officer appointed to the duty should be selected by the Commissioner of the Division.

4. That the Native Officer in question should, at the close of each year, submit his report in English (if he knows English, otherwise his report must be translated into that language) to the Deputy Commissioner, describing in full detail what action has been taken to suppress the crime, and with what result.

5. That it should be laid down as the duty of the Deputy Commissioner to submit, by a certain date of January in each year, a special report on the subject of Female Infanticide in his District, describing what measures he, in conjunction with his native assistant, has adopted towards its suppression and with

what result. He should describe on what dates he and his native assistant visited the proclaimed villages, to what leading men of the district he spoke on the subject, what were their views, what he himself thought of those views, and whether, from a practical standpoint, they were of any use and how. The report to be submitted to the Government through the Commissioner of the Division who should, of course, be at liberty to add to it his own observations and remarks. The report by the Native Officer to form an appendix to this report.

6. Where the results proved favourable, the approbation of the Government to be communicated to the Officers concerned, and the leading men whose influence, advice or co-operation may have tended to secure this end to be endowed with *Khilats* of honour. A recognition merely on paper can not have that effect and value in the eyes of the native of India of the class mentioned above (though no doubt it has its value in its own way) as a dress of honour, which they consider a source of real pride and distinction. Where influential natives were allowed such dresses of honour, it would be impolitic not to honour Native Officers in the same way if they had proved themselves worthy of it.

As for headmen of tribes and villages who assist in the cause, how gratified they would feel if a *lungi* or a *shawl* or a cloak of *Pushmina* were given to them in a meeting of the District Board by the Deputy Commissioner, or, in a Local Durbar held for the purpose, by the Commissioner of the Division.

50. It was the opinion of Sir Robert Montgomery that one great cause of the prevalence of obnoxious and evil customs in India was the want of female education. He, therefore, strongly advocated female education and laid its foundation in the Panjab by establishing the *Istri Siksha Sabha* (or the Society for Female Education) at Lahore. In my opinion, two sorts of schools should be opened in the villages brought under the operation of the Act;—of these, one should be for the education of girls in elementary books, and another (or a branch of the same) for instructing them in the arts of sewing and other handicraft work, such as making caps, hats and fans, manufacturing embroidered work, making gloves, stockings, baskets, fancy work on cloaks, jackets, handkerchiefs, &c, and other industries of light but remunerative character. Among other causes that influence parents to kill infant females, one, doubtless, is that the girls, on growing up, prove of no use to them in point of earning, whereas boys begin to earn

Female education and technical schools for females.

One more motive for killing female infants.

as soon as they reach the age of discretion, and are, indeed, taught to earn even before that. The articles prepared by these girls could be profitably sold, and would prove a source of income to their parents, so long as they remained unmarried, and to themselves in their after-life. There are many professions which could be easily taught to the girls, and would be sure to prove a good source of income to them. If each unmarried girl in this way earned, on the average, four annas a day, her parents would be materially assisted by her industry, and, instead of depriving girls of their lives, they would become anxious for an increased proportion of them among their offspring. The results of their industries would sell well in the markets of towns and cities by both retail and wholesale. Above all, there can be no doubt that the industries would prove a source of blessing to the husbands of these girls, when they came to be married. Instead of a lazy set of people knowing only how to eat and sleep, or pass their time in idle talk, they would become ornaments of their house, and acquire habits of diligence and industry. One great good which would result from their proficiency in industrial arts would be that they would be able easily to impart their knowledge to their girls, who, in their turn, would become useful and prudent members of the household before marriage, and good partners in life afterwards. Should this custom grow up, who would not prefer heartily looking after the safety and well-being of their female offspring to mercilessly destroying their lives in infancy?

51. It may be argued, with reference to the above proposal to teach light industrial arts to girls in villages, that they do not remain idle even now. They work at the grinding mill, and spin, or do other household work, cooking food, taking bread for male relations to the field, &c. But these works either yield no gain at all, or are not sufficiently remunerative, for the income from them does not assist parents in their house expenses. What I advocate is the introduction of industrial arts in technical schools to be opened for girls in villages. It is the duty of a paternal Government to provide such means as I have suggested for the benefit of its subjects, and what incalculable blessings to the country would not result, if such schools were opened for boys, too, in villages and towns. At any rate, I would strongly urge the establishment of such schools for girls in proclaimed villages.

52. With respect to rules framed under the Female Infanticide Act, if the coercive measures suggested by me are not to be adopted, I would recommend that the rules already in force may

Rules under the Act.

be allowed to stand. I don't think that the alterations made are important, or such as are likely to lead to any practical good. All that is needed and is desirable is the attention of the Deputy Commissioners. Much lies in their power in the way of success if they take the matter into their heart, and if the obstacles put in the way of their success are removed by the Government. If the rules are to be enforced with any degree of success, their duties in connection with this important subject must be clearly defined in some such way as I have suggested. They must submit yearly reports on it in the same way as they submit reports on the working of the several Departments under them.—the Registration, the Excise, the Educational, the Municipal, &c. The present rules answer all the purposes of the Act very well. It only requires to be seen that they are worked out well, and that the supervision is thorough and effective. If there is any drawback with reference to them, it is the want of strict supervision. When there is laxity of supervision, the best rules framed must fail to realise their object and remain a dead letter.

53. Lastly, I would point out that the subject is of vast importance and, as pointed out by Sir
Concluding remarks. Dennis Fitzpatrick, full of difficulties. In my opinion, as I have already stated at full length, there are only two ways of meeting the difficulty, namely, either by introducing coercive measures like those recommended, which I have no doubt would prove most effectual, or, by adopting a mild policy by defining clearly to the chief controlling authorities of the District their duties in connection with the subject, associating Native Officers of ability and experience with them, and enjoining on them the necessity of creating an interest in the matter in the minds of influential natives of the country and heads of communities, and rewarding their services by khilats, or some other like recognition by the Government, which is the key-note of success.

M. L.

ART. X.—THE BALLAD OF KUVALAYÂSWA.

THE QUEST.

In days of yore when hermits strove
High grace from heaven to gain
On lonely hill, in distant grove,
By prayer and rite and pain,
Malignant demons foul and bold
Roamed the dark woodlands through,
And o'er the sunny realm of Oudh
Reigned Satru-jit the true.

A hermit Gálav sought the king
To crave his instant aid,
And by him stepped a shapely steed ;
Thus to the king he said—
“ O king ! a demon me assails
In many a beast-like guise,
Devotion, rite and prayer he mars,
Vexing my thoughts and eyes.

“ As late in deep distress I sighed,
From heaven down came this steed,
And straight a voice unearthly spake,
(Hearken, O king, and heed !)—
‘ This horse can match the sun’s swift flight
And course the world around,
Through air, through water free he moves,
Midst hills and underground.

“ ‘ Go, seek thee out king Satru-jit,
And seek out eke his son,
Give them this horse, and by their aid
Thy safety shall be won,
For, mounted on this steed, the prince
The demon vile shall slay,
And earn renown !’ So spake the voice,
O king, the call obey !”

The king obeyed and freely sent
His son to tempt the quest.
So forth they fared, the prince and saint—
It was the gods' behest.
They reached the hermit's calm abode,
A grove with stream and shade,
And day and night the prince kept watch,
His arms beside him laid.

THE SLAUGHTER OF THE DEMON.

The demon he knew not the prince's stout arm
Was guarding the hermit from danger and harm ;
One even he entered the grove as a boar,
And scattered the brahmans with fear and uproar.
Upstart the prince at the cries of affright,
He sprang to his steed and the beast put to flight ;
His richly-chased bow with his full strength he drew,
And deep in its flank sped the swift arrow true.
Sore wounded and bleeding, the boar, in dismay,
To the woodland for shelter fled headlong away ;
And fast spurred the prince—ho ! the task is nigh done !—
Like the wind in its gallop his charger raced on.
For mile after mile rushed the chase and the flight,
Till wide yawned a chasm, 't was murky as night.
The boar in it vanished—he slacked not his speed,
And down in the gulf leapt the rider and steed.
Down, downward he sank, with the dank gloom around ;
But light at last broke, and he reached the firm ground.
He gazed him about, and no boar could he see,
But the Nether-world vast to his view opened free.

THE MEETING.

Before him stood the demons' town,
With rampart, tower and hold ;

And many a palace rose within,
All wrought of purest gold.
Its gate stood wide, he entered in ;
Its streets he wandered through ;
All silent and deserted 'twas,
And no one met his view.

At length a lady hurrying came—
She passed him heedless by ;
He watched her seek a palace near
And through its portal hie.
“ Now hap what may perchance ! ” quoth he,
“ I 'll follow close her ways.”
He entered, too, with fearless heart,
But wide-eyed with amaze.

Within he saw a couch of gold ;
There lay a damsel lone,
With gentle face and down-cast eyes,
All sad and woe-begone ;
Yet wondrous rare her loveliness,
So noble was her mien,—
Thought he, “ In this dread Under-world
'Tis sooth the goddess-queen.”

She gazed in wonder, “ Who is this ?
Is he a god above ?
So shapely, gallant and so grand—
'Tis sure the god of love ! ”
Thrilled with a feeling strong, she rose,
Then, trembling backward, shrank,
And on the ground distraught and wan,
In sudden faint she sank.

The lady hastened to her side,
(No handmaid marked her swoon,)
And, bending o'er with loving care,
To life restored her soon.

"Tell me, fair dame, what made her swoon?"

Right courteously he said ;
With blended grace and modesty
The lady answer made :

"This maiden is Madálasá ;
Her father reigns on high,
Chief of the heavenly minstrel bands.
True friends are she and I ;
In girlish love and play we joined ;
But now, a widow lone,
I share her grief and prison here,
For friend and friend are one.

"As she her garden roamed one day
Far from my watchful care,
A demon from this Nether-world
Saw her unguarded there ;
Smit with her loveliness, he seized
And bore her to this place,
In magic darkness shrouding her—
The thief and villain base !

"But, sooth to say, it was foretold,
Foretold was e'en the day ;
And yet withal this promise went,
Her anguish to allay :—
'The demon shall not thee possess,
But with an arrow he
Who wounds him in the world of men
Shall soon thy husband be.'

"This day the demon, bent on ill,
A hog-like form assumed ;
But thy keen dart has struck him down,
E'en as his fate was doomed.

In eager haste I followed him ;
I have but now come back ;
The doom is done ! I saw him fall,
Foiled in his base attack.

" And why this maiden swooned away,
I may the cause avow ;
'Twas love at first sight, love for thee,
O heart-enchanter thou !
Thine is her heart, and saving thee
No other lord she'll know,
And she's thy destined prize, for thou
Hast slain the robber foe."

THE MARRIAGE.

" But who art thou ? " the lady asked,
" How com'st thou here this day ?
Art thou a god, or demi-god,
Or heavenly minstrel ? say !
For here men cannot come, nor can
Thy body human be.
Tell me this truly, e'en as I
Have told the truth to thee."

The prince then told her all the tale
With ready speech and fair,
What he had done, and who he was,
And how he entered there.
The maiden heard the marvellous words ;
They made her heart rejoice ;
Yet dull and strange the scene appeared,
And awe still hushed her voice.

O blithely quoth the lady then,
" 'Tis truly told, sweet maid ;
Thy weary waiting now is o'er ;"
And to the prince she said—

"O hero, thou hast spoken true,
So now the maiden wed ;
Wedded to thee her bliss is sure ;
She need no evil dread."

While hope and fear perplexed the maid,
Consenting, he replied,
And straight the simple rites performed
To wed his destined bride.
Fuel he took and kindled fire,
Her to his side he drew ;
Together joined, they breathed the prayers
And made the offerings due.

"Farewell, dear maid !" the lady said,
"Farewell, O hero true !
Now I, with heart and mind at ease,
My vow at once renew ;
For I did swear a life-long vow,
When my dear lord was slain,
From shrine to shrine to wander pure,
And meet for death remain."

THE RETURN.

Ah ! sadly they parted, the bride and her friend ;
Yet love was before her, and sorrow must end.
"Now mount we my steed," quoth he ; "home let us ride
No more in this cavernous world will we bide."

A demon espied him and strode in his path,
And quickly his comrades he roused in his wrath—
"Ho ! friends to the rescue ! she's snatched from our eyes,
This pearl among maidens, our heaven-won prize !"

"Stand !" shouted the chiefs, and to arms they upsprung,
Their arrows they shot and their javelins they flung,
Their swords they unsheathed, and they rushed to the fray
But proud in his valour he laughed as in play.

He raised his great bow, and his arrows he drove
So fast and so furious, their weapons he clove ;
And thickly the face of the Under-world soon
With broken swords, arrows and javelins was strewn.

His terrible magical weapon he threw ;
Full into the midst of his foemen it flew ;
And lo ! from it blazed forth the levin around,
And blasted and burnt sank the host to the ground.

O, the demons are slain, and the task has been done !
And the victor as meed the fair damsel has won !
So blithely and fearlessly homeward they rode,
And triumphant he entered his father's abode.

O, loud was the praise of the steed Kuvalay,
Who bore his brave rider to victory high !
And glorious his master, who won a new name,
As Kuvalayáswa, O, great is his fame !

F. E. P.

ART. XI.—GREEK SONNETS.

THE MELIAN APHRODITE.

(VENUS OF MILO.)

For starrier shapes than Earth's, in Melos' isle,
Yearn'd the Greek youth, whose subtle hand and eye
Deliverance wrought for this Divinity,
Who pined unseen within her Parian pile ;
Him from his quest no joyance might beguile,
Till yon proud Queen, in peerless symmetry,
Flashed radiant to his touch, and sea, and sky,
And shore were glad with Aphrodite's smile.

Shine, Victress, still ! Cold centuries of gloom
Clouded thy long-lost loveliness in vain,
Nor us, who saw not thy auroral bloom,
In this thy deathless after-glow disdain,
But with thine immortality illumine
Castalian halls, and statued shades of Seine.

PENTELICUS.

Hence sprang the flower august, Art's lucent whole,
Foam-white as Aphrodite from the seas,
The Temple, and the Statue, and the Frieze,
Victorious shapes divine, that charm the soul,
When curbed Thought's fiery steeds with calm control,
Ictimes, Scopas, bold Praxiteles,
And sceptred Phidias, loftier yet than these,
Keen charioteers, with Beauty for the goal.
Deem not the Makers who could thus create,
Pale phantoms on drear shores of Acheron,
But Conquerors, whose proud memories consecrate
This source of stars that ne'er may be outshone,
Birthplace of many a shrine supremely great,
And peerless glory of the Parthenon.

THE CYCLADES.

Star-flowers asleep on Argo-furrowed seas,
Whence Art august and lyric Beauty sprang,
Ere fierce the Median onset roared and rang,
And closed the death-grip of Themistocles ;
What doom hath spared ye for such days as these ?
Who heard the invasive Bacchic cymbals clang,
And where aflame the ecstatic minstrel sang,
When crowned Apollo swayed the Cyclades.

The Gods have fled the isles—but lingers still
Their spell divine, and those that spell who know,
May roam thro' this transfigured realm at will,
Whose cliffs are glorious with their after-glow,
And to the Delian's silvery descant thrill,
Where Pallas' unelusive amaranths blow.

ITHACA.

Victorious still, wild surge and storm outbrave
Those headlands, by Laertes' son astray
Yearned for in faery regions far away,
In Circe's palace, and Calypso's cave ;
Still Homer's song has potency to save ;
And robe, as Pallas erst, in bright array,
The war-worn Chief, returned to Phorcys' Bay
From wind-vexed Ilion, and Scamander's wave.

Lo, the rude isle ! where sea, cliffs, mountains, gleam,
Irradiate with Poesy divine,
Lulled in the Naiads' Grotto let me dream
Of olives gnarled, and fountains crystalline,
Eumaeus' acorned dell, Polyctor's stream,
And Her, the Queen, whom all true hearts enshrine.

THE AREOPAGUS.

No flower of Earth, but amaranthine bloom,
 Clasps this gray ridge, above the life-tide's beat,
 I see the scarce-foiled Furies' hard defeat,
 And Pallas' smile Orestes' soul illumine :
 Ah, when shall She her awful sway resume,
 Where, o'er the unloved Avengers' dread retreat,
 Frowns yon stern crag, the immemorial seat
 Of Justice, and inexorable Doom ?

What though, despite rude War's tempestuous shock,
 Athenae's shrines her deathless Past recall ?
 Time's sullen siege they all too vainly mock,
 Their long, long Day is darkening toward the fall :
 The Parthenon shall pale before the Rock,
 Whence flashed the lodestar from the lips of Paul.

THE CERAMEICUS.

Time's jewelled cup they seized, and quaffed apace,
 Mid clash and clang of arms, the golden wine
 Of Poesy supreme, and Art divine,
 Strong runners in Fame's great Olympian race,
 With Pallas' crown their victor brows to grace,
 Till reflux Life no longer might enshrine
 Them, stricken, nor Alcestis' arms entwine,
 Her loved one, yearning for her loved embrace.

To them their hearth's familiar citadel
 Was as a haven, whence all rudely rent,
 They roamed, in far Elysian valleys pent,
 Or mid eternal shadows doomed to dwell :
 All griefs that vex the hopeless heart were blent
 In those two words—soul-uttered—" Friend, farewell !"

C. A. KELLY.

THE QUARTER.

DURING the period covered by our present retrospect India has been called upon to face two of the forms of calamity against which the Church teaches Christians specially to pray. For the first time within living memory, pestilence, in its most dreaded shape, has invaded her Western borders, and the whole of Northern India is in the throes of a scarcity which, till within the last few days, threatened to assume the dimensions of a famine of almost unparalleled severity.

In spite of the enquiries of a Special Commission appointed by the Local Government to investigate it, the early history of the Plague which has broken out in Bombay, is involved in obscurity. The disease, the outbreak of which was heralded, as in the case of many previous epidemics of the kind, by a murrain among rats, seems to have first attracted public attention early in September ; but its actual beginnings have apparently not been traced, and it is highly probable that the city had become infected before the end of August. Whether this was the case or not, the date of the first appearance of the disease stands in suspicious conjunction with its recrudescence in Hong Kong in July and August last, while the fact that it first showed itself, as far as is known, in the Mandvi section of the town, in the neighbourhood of the docks, also points to the probability of its having been imported by sea.

Owing to doubts, for which it is extremely difficult to account, as to the true nature of the malady, much valuable time was lost before any serious attempt was made either to cleanse the infected district, or, what is probably far more important, to isolate the sufferers ; and, though, in the end, the Health Authorities applied themselves to the former task with creditable energy, the steps taken by them for the latter purpose appear to have been from first to last of a most half-hearted and perfunctory description. It is, perhaps, not to be wondered at, in the light of past experience elsewhere, that, under these circumstances, very little success has attended their efforts to arrest the spread of the disease. Though the measures of conservancy adopted were at first followed by a diminution in the number of cases, the subsequent course of the epidemic seems to show that the coincidence was accidental. No relationship between the sanitary condition of streets or dwellings and the liability of inhabitants or inmates to attack has so far been established,

the disease continuing to appear where it has once gained an entrance, with remarkable persistency, in spite of repeated cleansings and disinfections, and this, it may be noted, being entirely in accordance with what has been previously observed wherever it has once established itself.

On the other hand, the statistics, so far, seem to create a certain presumption that the progress of the disease is affected by the temperature and hygrometric condition of the atmosphere, and possibly by variations in the amount of solar radiation. During the latter part of September, when the number of reported cases averaged about twenty daily, a feeling was widespread that a good fall of rain would put an end to the visitation. But, as time went on, and, in the absence of rain, the temperature rose and the moisture in the air diminished, the number of attacks fell pretty steadily till a minimum average of eight or ten a day was reached. Then came the hoped-for rain, with a consequent fall in the temperature and increase of humidity, and the number of cases at once leapt up to between forty and fifty daily, and this number has since been exceeded. The immediate prognosis would thus appear to be distinctly unfavourable, the probability being that the next two months, especially if they should be rainy, will supply just the meteorological conditions most favourable to the spread of the disease, which is essentially one of temperate climates, and that not until the hot weather of March and April sets in can any alleviation be looked for.

It is to be presumed that the Health Authorities of Bombay are subjecting the statistics of attacks and mortality to some sort of intelligent analysis; but, in the form in which they are published from day to day in the papers, owing to the entire absence of any attempt at classification, they throw absolutely no light on the question of the comparative liability of different classes or different ages to attack, still less on such questions as that raised by a statement, made on some sort of authority, that vaccinated persons enjoy a comparative immunity. On another point, of even greater practical importance, the published reports leave us wholly, or almost wholly, in the dark. Though it is understood that there has been an extensive exodus of the population from Bombay, and it is practically certain that many of the fugitives must have carried the infection to their new abodes, we are told nothing of the state of the public health in the rural districts in the immediate neighbourhood of the city, where the bulk of them have probably gone. All that is known of the course of the disease outside the Municipal limits of Bombay, is that, in one or two instances in which it has been carried to other large towns in the neighbourhood, notably to Ahmedabad, it has shown no tendency to spread.

Very little, too, is heard of the mode of treatment adopted ; but what is known seems to point to the conclusion, which, indeed, is quite in accord with what might have been expected from a survey of the history of medical progress generally, that the therapeutics of the disease has made practically no advance since it last appeared in Western Europe. It is, indeed, claimed that Dr. Yersin, a French physician resident in Cochin China, has obtained from the blood serum of horses that have been subjected to a process immunisation, an anti-toxin which possesses both prophylactic and curative properties. It is understood, however, that the remedy takes six months to prepare, and it is not at present available for general use.

Though no authenticated case of the disease has occurred in Calcutta, the opinion of the Health Officer to the contrary having been pronounced erroneous on grounds which seem conclusive, one consequence of the outbreak in Bombay has been to arouse the authorities here to a keen sense of the necessity of thoroughly overhauling the conservancy of the town. Owing to the representations of Dr. Simpson and others, the Local Government, early in October, appointed a Medical Board to report and advise on the matter, as well as to take measures for dealing with the disease, should it unfortunately invade Calcutta ; and, at the same time, the services of Dr. Banks, late Civil Surgeon of Puri, were entertained by the Corporation in the capacity of Chief Superintendent of Conservancy.

Under the instructions of the Medical Board, a personal inspection of the Municipal area has been made by Special Sanitary Commissioners ; and they have submitted a report, which has been described by the Lieutenant-Governor as the most appalling document of the kind it has ever been his misfortune to peruse. Commenting on the report and that of Dr. Pilgrim, who made a similar inspection of the added area, the Board say that they disclose a state of things which, in its opinion, constitutes a standing menace to the health of the city, and may seriously affect the commercial relations of the port with foreign countries. " They indicate a complete failure on the part of the Health Department of the Corporation to carry out the ordinary operations of town conservancy. " The Board go on to state that they propose to make a full and searching enquiry into the causes of this failure, taking, in the first place, the evidence of the officers of the Corporation ; and ask that formal orders may be conveyed to them for the purpose. This has since been done ; and the enquiry has already been commenced, the first witness examined being the newly appointed Chief Superintendent of Conservancy.

At the same time the Board make certain preliminary recommendations regarding the steps which should be adopted to remedy the state of things reported. These include, besides such measures of conservancy as the purification of the polluted sub-soil, a more effective system for the removal of refuse from the streets, the improvement of latrines, house connexions and surface-drains, the closing of polluted wells, the paving of hackney-carriage stands, and the like, "large structural changes which will take time to carry out, and will involve considerable expenditure and possibly legislation."

In a speech made by him at the inauguration of the Drainage Extension works, the Report was referred to at some length by the Lieutenant-Governor. The Commissioners were informed very plainly that they stood, or would shortly stand, at the bar of public opinion in the matter, and urged to sink all differences and unite to initiate and carry through a scheme of reform worthy of the first city in India, and their own responsibilities. With reference to the question of Building Regulations in particular, the Lieutenant-Governor expressed a hope that he might shortly hear that the Commissioners were prepared to work with him by concurring in the appointment of a Commission to deal with it, adding that he would not, in that case, have to consider the disagreeable alternative of proceeding without them, and in supersession of their authority.

As regards the responsibility for past neglect, the Lieutenant-Governor observed that it would be for the Medical Board, in the first instance, to say where it lay, and to indicate what form the remedies, in their opinion, should take. But, though the Lieutenant-Governor was thus careful to avoid prejudging the Commissioners regarding the past, no less than to assure them of his confidence in the future, this plain speaking has been received by a large section of them with a *furore* of indignation, and steps were at once taken to call a special meeting for the purpose of considering what should be done to mark their sense of its enormity. Special offence seems to have been given to certain members of the Corporation by a comparison drawn by the speaker between its constitution and methods of working and those of the Town Council of Birmingham, which, the Lieutenant-Governor pointed out, contains "only one lawyer and one newspaper man;" which works with as little talking as possible; which does not waste time in doing over again the work of its Committees, and which devotes its endeavours as much as possible to strengthening and supporting the executive, and by a somewhat bantering allusion to the desire of certain of the Commissioners to pose as experts in bacteriology and to crucify the Health Officer. Had Sir Alexander Mackenzie known how hyper-

sensitive was the audience he was addressing, he might possibly have avoided these burning topics.

The economic outlook, though somewhat brighter than it was three weeks ago, is still such as to justify grave apprehension. The premature cessation and general inadequacy of the rains throughout Upper India has resulted in a partial failure of both the kharif and winter rice crops, while, owing to the deficiency of moisture in the soil, the spring crops in unirrigated lands remained generally unsown. Though some difference of opinion seems to have existed as to the extent to which stocks had been depleted, prices, in the early part of last month, were everywhere from eighty to a hundred per cent. higher than at the same time last year, and in some places higher than those of 1873-74, and the tendency was still upward. The rain that has since fallen, generally and abundantly in Bombay, and somewhat less generally and less abundantly in the North-West Provinces and Behar, has made late sowings of the rabbi crops possible in the more favourably situated lands, and the hopes thus created have been attended by a sensible fall of prices. There are two points, however, which must not be ignored. One is that it is only in exceptional cases that these sowings can be expected to yield average crops ; and the other is that, unless there should be abundant winter rain, the crops they will yield will be hardly worth reaping. Though, therefore, looking at the high general level of prices, the number of persons on the relief-works that have been everywhere opened is remarkably small, this is due to the fact that agricultural employment is for the moment ample. Two months hence, should the season turn out a dry one, prices may be expected to rise again to at least their previous level, and the position will then be very different. Fortunately the rainfall has been not only sufficient in Bombay, but unusually copious in Southern India, so that the area of scarcity will in any case be materially reduced. Fortunately, too, there are bumper crops in Burmah and the Further East ; and these facts afford something like a guarantee that the prices reached last month are unlikely, at the worst, to be exceeded. On the other hand, even these prices, continued for any length of time, would mean semi-starvation for millions and a heavy strain on the resources of the Government.

The Government, while doing everything in its power to relieve the pressure, by granting suspensions of Revenue, and to promote cultivation, by making advances for wells, and while it has prepared an extensive programme of relief-works, to be undertaken in case of necessity, has so far declined to yield to the pressure put upon it to import grain on its own account. But there are indications that it would not hesitate to adopt a

different policy should the machinery of private trade prove unequal to the occasion.

It seems doubtful whether, after all, the scheme of the Port Commissioners of Calcutta for turning the accommodation of the Port to better account by restricting the use of the jetties by steamers to the purpose of discharging import cargoes, leaving them the option of proceeding to the Kidderpore Docks to ship their export cargoes, or taking them in from boats in the stream, will be carried out. The scheme was forwarded by the Local Government to the Government of India with a strong recommendation that it should be accepted ; but the Government of India, while disposed to favour its adoption, if the ability of the Port Trust to meet the annual expenditure involved is satisfactorily demonstrated, and if it can be shown to have the support of the mercantile community generally, declines to sanction it in the absence of more convincing proof than it at present possesses that the latter is the case. The result is that the Local Government has called for a more definite expression of the views of the Chamber of Commerce in the matter. In the meantime a special general meeting had been independently called by the Chamber to consider a Resolution of Mr. W. McDonald condemning the scheme. This was rejected at the meeting, by show of hands, by a majority of twenty-two to nineteen, in favour of an amendment by Mr. Simson approving the scheme ; but a poll which has since been taken has resulted in the rejection of the amendment by a majority of twenty-seven to twenty-three. It seems clear that, under these circumstances, the Government of India is bound by the terms of its recent letter to the Local Government to withhold its sanction, and the Port Commissioners and Chamber will have to reconsider the whole question.

In the course of his cold-weather tour, which was brought to a close on the 4th instant with a trip to the famous city of Ujjain, the Viceroy has visited Ulwar, Ajmir, Oodeypur, Jaipur, Bikanir, Jodhpur, Ahmedabad, Baroda and Indore. His Excellency reached Jabalpur, on his return journey on the 5th instant, and is expected to arrive in Calcutta on the 10th.

Sir Francis Maclean took his seat on the Bench of the High Court, as Chief Justice, on the 19th ultimo, when the first duty he had to perform was that of replying to an address of the Advocate General, expressing the regret of the Bar at the loss of one of its leading members, in the person of the late Mr. Monmohun Ghose.

Among the other personal changes of the quarter are the appointment of Mr. William M. Young in succession to Sir Dennis Fitz Patrick, who retires from the Lieutenant-Governorship of the Punjab, and of Mr. H. J. S. Cotton in the place of

Sir W. Ward, who vacates the Chief Commissionership of Assam.

Among political events of the past three months unconnected with India, the Presidential election in the United States possesses the greatest interest for the world at large. The contest turned practically upon the currency question; and the return of the "sound money" candidate by an overwhelming, and, with one exception, unprecedented, majority has not only relieved the United States of a load of anxiety, but has had a re-assuring effect throughout the monetary and commercial world. The largeness of the majority was probably due, to some extent, to the accident that the Republican candidate was also the champion of order against anarchy, Mr. Bryan's populist programme having, there can be little doubt, created widespread alarm not merely among the classes, but among all men who have anything to call their own, including the more respectable of the labouring section of the community. But for this fact, it is very doubtful what the issue of the struggle might have been. As it is, the result is accepted as decisive on both sides, and its announcement has been followed by a general revival of business and a rise of prices of both stocks and produce, which will tend largely to reconcile the silver party, or rather the bulk of their supporters, to their defeat. It is generally understood that Mr. McKinley's first measure will be the introduction of a Tariff Bill, but the conditions of the election furnish a fairly good guarantee that it will be on moderate lines. The success of Mr. McKinley's Presidentship and, in a large measure, the future of the country, will, however, depend chiefly on the steps he may take to place the currency on a sound footing, and here the problem with which he has to deal is, perhaps, the most difficult of its kind that human ingenuity has ever been called upon to solve.

In the domain of English politics, the most prominent event of the period under review has been Lord Rosebery's resignation of the Liberal leadership. Seldom or never, probably, has the leader of a great political party surrendered his post with greater satisfaction to himself. Occupying as he did from the first a position which the force of circumstances had rendered untenable, the wonder, indeed, is that he did not retire from it long ago, the more so that he has never enjoyed the confidence of the majority of his nominal supporters, or the hearty allegiance of his second-in-command. There can be no doubt, however, that, by waiting, he has secured one signal advantage. Not only, as a writer in the *Fortnightly Review* says, has he made his exit at the time and in the form best calculated to attract public attention, but he has made it at the moment when he could do so with the most grace and the least loss of

reputation. It may be that, in resigning the leadership because he could not conscientiously support the policy of single-handed intervention in Armenia urged by Mr. Gladstone and accepted by the majority of his party, he was merely taking a step which he knew must otherwise be forced upon him later on. It may, in fact, be, as the writer already referred to says, that he resigned the leadership because he had no party left to lead ; because a section of Radical malcontents were leaving no stone unturned to bring about his deposition, while the moderates who preferred his leadership, were reluctant to come forward and support him ; but the fact remains that he retired at a juncture when he could do so on grounds that commanded the hearty approval of all prudent men.

In spite of the Czar's personal interviews with Lord Salisbury, at Balmoral, and, again, with M. Hanotaux, in Paris, and the better understanding between at least three of the Great Powers which is believed to have resulted from them, there is no visible sign that the Armenian question is any nearer a satisfactory settlement to day than it was three months ago. Lord Salisbury, at the Guildhall banquet, and M. Hanotaux, in the French Chamber, have spoken vaguely of a common course of action having been agreed upon ; but the information to be gained from either utterance as to the precise nature of the measures contemplated, is wholly negative. They are not to involve isolated action on the part of any of the Powers, or the recognition of Armenian autonomy, or any interference with the integrity of the Sultanate, or the establishment of any sort of condominium ; but the will of united Europe is, in case of necessity, to be manifested at Constantinople in such a way as to obtain from the Sultan an amelioration of the conditions of public and private life in his Empire. So far M. Hanotaux. At the Guildhall, Lord Salisbury, in a speech, the most noteworthy feature of which was its diffuseness, after congratulating his audience on the unanimity of public opinion in England against isolated action by Great Britain, and after giving reasons why neither the British fleet nor the British army was a fitting instrument to secure good government in Turkish provinces in the interior of Asia Minor ; why the Powers should not be condemned as selfish, if they did not view the problem in the same emotional spirit as it had aroused among Englishmen, and why England should not adopt a policy of splendid renunciation, in the vain hope of convincing the Powers of her unselfishness and virtue, went on to repudiate the assumption that there is any permanent antagonism between Great Britain and Russia, and added :—

“I have good ground for believing that the Russian Govern-

ment pursues the same object and entertains the same view as we do concerning these terrible events in the East. Of course there may be a difference of opinion, and possibly there will be, as to the means to be pursued. I do not see any difficulty in concurring in any proposition to exercise force in which the five other Powers may concur, but whether they will do so I do not know. At present I have only to repeat what I ventured to say from this place last year—it is through the channel of the Sultanate, and through that alone, that we can hope to convey to the Christians and Moslems of the Turkish Empire some slight portion of that good government which has been the privilege of the West for so long.

“I observed in the newspapers that some exertion was expressed because the Turkish Government has promised to release all persons who are in prison without any charge against them and to forbid the police to prosecute any innocent Armenians. It is very good of the Turkish Government to go so far, and of course it is a source of satisfaction to know that they have found out at last that those two practices are not consistent with the highest ideals of civilisation; but they do not justify me in forming any definite idea of what measure of practical realisation will be given even to aims so humble. For that the future must determine; for that the wisdom of the six Powers must arrange. We must hope that they will be successful, that we shall be able to convince the Turkish Government that it is drifting down the current which leads to an abyss, and that we shall be able to turn them aside before they have arrived at the cataract.

“But whether that be so or not, we have no doubt of what is our duty in the matter. Our first duty is towards the people of this country, to maintain their interests and their rights; our second duty is to all humanity, Moslem as well as Christian; to the people who constitute the armies of Continental Europe, as well as to the miserable wretches who have suffered in these Armenian massacres. It is our duty, so far as we can, to rescue the one without endangering the other; to bring redress to the thousands without threatening the millions with ruin; and we believe we have some ground for a confident hope that, by placing ourselves frankly on the side of the European Powers and doing all we can to develop in them any wish, any desire, to procure better things—doing all we can to direct their counsels wisely, and to bring their forces, if need be, into useful application, we shall be able to wipe out this great disgrace which blots the fair fields of South-Eastern Europe without imperilling the harmony of the Powers and without bringing any hazard to the priceless blessings of the peace which we value so dearly.”

These utterances have been interpreted as meaning that, in certain eventualities, the Powers will combine to depose the Sultan. But, except that Lord Salisbury plainly intimates that the use of force is a probable contingency, they leave us wholly in the dark as to the means to be employed to secure that end, or to restore order if, as seems highly probable, the existing regime should end in general anarchy.

The Venezuelan imbroglio has been settled by an understanding between England and the United States that territories occupied by settlers of either of the disputant nations for a period of fifty years shall be excluded from the arbitration; Venezuela has signified her acceptance of this condition, and the King of Sweden is freely spoken of as President designate of the Commission of Arbitration which is to consist, besides, of two English and two American Judges.

No further active operations have taken place in the Soudan, and the Dervishes have so far made no sign that they contemplate attempting to recover their lost territory. In the meantime the Court of Appeal at Alexandria has condemned the Egyptian Government to refund the half million of the reserve fund used for the campaign and to pay all costs; the Egyptian Government has promptly repaid the amount from the cash balance in its Treasury, and England has undertaken to advance £200,000, and further sums if required, to go on with.

Considerable excitement has been caused in Vienna by the publication, in the Hamburg *Nachrichten*, of a statement, evidently inspired by Prince Bismarck, that, soon after the accession of Alexander III, a secret treaty was entered into between Germany and Russia, by which the contracting parties bound themselves to maintain a benevolent neutrality in the case of either of them being attacked by a third Power. This treaty, which was not communicated to the other members of the Triple Alliance, was, it is said, signed in 1884; but in 1890, when apparently it expired by effluxion of time, Count von Caprivi, the new German Chancellor, declined to renew it, on the ground of its incompatibility with the Triple Alliance. The German Government has refused either to deny or affirm the authenticity of the statement, which is considered to throw an important light on the *rapprochement* between Russia and France. There can be little doubt that the contingencies specially contemplated on either side were an attack, on the one hand, by Austria on Russia, and, on the other, by France on Germany. The revelation certainly will not tend to strengthen the Triple Alliance. On the other hand, it is unlikely that, at this date, it will sensibly weaken it, except in so far as it may tend to cast doubt on the good faith of Germany generally.

The obituary of the quarter includes the names of Sir J. A. Crowe ; Sir W. J. Moore, K.C.I.E. ; Senator Luigi Palmieri ; Major General Frances J. T. Ross ; Sir John Erichsen ; the Right Honourable G. Denman ; Katharine Klafsky ; Mr. H. T. Rivaz ; Sir G. M. Humphrey ; Mr. William Morris, the Poet ; General Sir James Abbott, K.C.B. ; Lord Kensington ; Major General Tod-Brown, C.B. ; General Trochu ; Mr. George du Maurier, artist and author ; Dr. E. W. Benson, Archbishop of Canterbury ; Baron Sir Frederick von Mueller, K.C.M.G., F.R.S. ; Admiral Sir Richard Wells ; Mr. G. A. Fripp, R.W.S. ; Mr. Henry Trimen ; Sir Albert Sassoon ; M. Challemel Lacour ; Dr. George Harley, F.R.S. ; Rear Admiral Walter Stewart, C.B. ; Cardinal Hohenlohe ; Surgeon-General William Munro, M.D., C.B. ; Duke William of Wurtemberg ; Mr. Monmohun Ghose ; Admiral H. D. Grant ; Admiral Sir G. H. Richards ; General Sir R. O. Bright, G.C.B. ; General P. F. Gardiner ; Major-General George Mein ; Mr. Coventry Patmore ; General Frederick Boulton ; General Sir Charles Staveley ; Sir Benjamin Ward Richardson.

December 9th, 1896.

CRITICAL NOTICES.

Sir George Tressady. By MRS. HUMPHRY WARD, Macmillan & Co., London and New York.

IT is to be regretted that, in *Sir George Tressady*, in spite of a certain cleverness, Mrs. Ward does not succeed in riveting the interest of the reader more securely. It requires more or less of mental effort to keep the attention concentrated on her tale. The book is always 'heavy in hand,' and does not carry one away with it. In these days of pressure, when jaded brains have recourse to fiction as a relief from mental strain, one does not want to ride a halting horse, or even a superior Arab prone to sleepy tripping.

The characters most faithful to life are the two on whom Mrs. Ward appears to have expended least effort—Mrs. Allison and the mother of George Tressady. No observant person mingling in the class of society to which Mrs. Allison belongs, can avoid recognising her individuality, or marvelling over the tyranny that religious fervour can exercise over a mind of such delicate intellectual resource.

Upon the personality of Lady Tressady, senior, we stumble continually. She is always to be found fighting the eternal fight with advancing age, and endeavouring to shelter her decaying charms in sheaths of Worth's most extravagant weaving. She is the sharp thorn that lurks beneath the rose leaves of many a home-circle, making her presence acutely felt, and probing the family-purse, as well as the feelings of each separate member. One of the finest artistic touches in the book lies in the ruffling of that shallow-mind as the end of life approaches;—the piteous appeal to her son for some solution of the mysteries concerning a future existence, which, throughout her own career of petty worldliness, she had so persistently ignored.

Marcella is an old friend re-introduced to us in this novel, and we must at once pronounce her a wholly impossible woman.

It often chances, with an author's pet ideal, that, from excess of anxiety, she re-chisels it and exhausts the force of every life-like lineament it originally possessed. The political counterpart of Marcella, we recognise and acknowledge. What we question is the possibility of its co-existence with the poetic temperament and imagination with which Marcella is also endowed. As a 'living poem,' she is very loveable and real, but she could never be a political success; while as a political

success, she would have been too practical a character for the indulgence of such sentiments. Had she possessed them, she would have strangled them at their birth; but in our opinion she never would have possessed them, and a romance of such a nature as is here described could never have set itself in tune with politics.

The character of Letty is consistent throughout and arouses more sympathy than the author probably either expects or desires. We consider Marcella's conduct in ignoring her position and due, as Sir George's wife, highly reprehensible, while Letty's resistance to the suggestions of Lord Cathedine is marvellous considering her limited capacities, and the temptations of her environment. It was impossible for a wife so placed to regard Marcella otherwise than with jealousy under circumstances that would have affected many a nobler mind than her own. Sir George Tressady is admirably delineated, and his actions are in accord with his somewhat complex characteristics, so indicative both of weakness and of strength. Poor Letty's punishment is certainly greater than her desert, when Mrs. Ward entombs her newly-recovered husband in the coal-pits. His death there is a strain after tragic effect which was surely as unnecessary as it is depressing.

We do not think Mrs. Ward excels in portraying the poorer classes; such instances as Mrs. Bachelor and the persons of her kind—are forced and unconvincing.

That the diction of the writer is good, and her style high and pure in tone, we have only to quote the following passage to prove. It occurs when Marcella, from the standpoint of her pure womanliness, has raised the veil, and given Sir George Tressady an insight into the true aspect of existing facts concerning human wretchedness, which all the arguments of her second-hand political rhetoric had failed to make him see!

“ Those few last sentences, that voice, that quiver of
 “ passion—they were her own, herself, *not Maxwell*. The
 “ words were very simple, and a little tremulous . . . but for
 “ one listener there they changed everything. The room, the
 “ crowd, the speaker—he saw them for a moment under an-
 “ other aspect; *that poetic, eternal aspect that is always there*
 “ *behind the veil of common things*, ready to flash out on mortal
 “ eyes. He *felt the woman's heart*, oppressed with a pity
 “ too great for it; *the delicate trembling consciousness, like a*
 “ *point in space, weighed on by the burden of the world*. He
 “ stood, as it were, beside her, hearing with her ears seeing the
 “ earth-spectacle as she saw it, with that terrible second-
 “ sight of her's; the all-environing woe and tragedy of human
 “ things—the creeping hunger and pain, the struggle that
 “ leads no whither,—the life that hates to live, and dreads to

"die,—the death that cuts all short, and does but add one
 "more hideous question to the great pile that hems the path
 "of man.

" Is it starved tailoresses and shirtmakers alone
 "who suffer? Is there no hunger of the heart that matches
 "and overweighs the physical? Is it not as easy for the rich
 "as the poor to miss the one thing needful, the one thing that
 "matters and saves? Angrily and in a kind of protest he
 "put out his hand, as it were, to claim his own share of the
 "common pain."

The Sealskin Cloak. By ROLF BOLDREWOOD. Macmillan
 & Co., London and New York.

WE fear this story would have fared very badly in the
 hands of an impatient reviewer. The opening charac-
 ters are mechanical puppets, who parade their emotions pub-
 licly, on stilts. They scorn to pace the earth, and soil their
 soles, like ordinary mortals. In the words of Mr. Boldrewood,
 they "fare forth," from the "ebon night" into "the Empyrean,
where such stainless souls float." His women are creatures
 vastly too good for "human nature's daily food." They have
 "a lofty disregard for the meaner trials of life;"—they are, in
 short, not women, but "*exemplars* of fair spirits that circle
 with eyes sad-pleading for the souls of men."

The hero shows a courage unparalleled in the history of
 fiction when he "re-lights Hymen's torch" for a second ex-
 perience of the connubial felicity derived from such companion-
 ship. If this were to be the outcome of our civilisation, which
 Mr. Boldrewood pronounces to be "*completed*," we should be
 fain to disagree with him in that view, and to see some pros-
 pect of reverting to the simplicity of barbarism.

The plot is an amalgam of Enoch Arden,—reversed, varied
 with complications akin to those exhibited in the pages of
 "The Woman in White"—though Wilkie Collins in his wildest
 flights of dramatic exaggeration never presented us with such
 an overdrawn effect as that produced by Marguerite, when
 she appears to her mourning husband by the side of her own
 tomb. Seeing what she is, we quite sympathise with him for
 fainting on that occasion, for Marguerite is absolutely void
 of the smallest symptom of human frailty; our author tells
 us she has "no narrow-souled jealousy—; could "have lived
 "with many wives lovingly and loyally in the tent of the great
 Sheik;"—and yet, the writer declares that he has "limned
 "her portrait with *feeble brush, and dimmest color.*" We turn
 the page, however, and persevere, and are presently rewarded
 with a transformation that is well-nigh magical.

When once the author transports us to Egyptian ground the high flown phraseology subsides into simple, intelligent, English, and Rolf Boldrewood is himself again ; a little further, and we can have no doubt of it, when he introduces us to Mr. and Mrs. Baldhill, and their daughter Isabel. It is quite refreshing to grasp their kindly hands of genuine flesh and blood. They are thoroughly wholesome and alive, and they carry us with them through that hare-brained campaign in the desert. There are touches which betray the traveller in the tour through Egypt, and endow the hackneyed passage up the Nile with fresh interest ; but it is when Mr. Boldrewood lands his party safely in the native realm of Australia that he is at his best. Nothing can be truer or more faithful than the scene of the endeavour to tame the buckjumper, or the details of the sheep shearing. The Merradoolah home is, no doubt, exceptionally luxurious, but occasionally even the Bush can boast of such a spot, while its master is by no means exceptional in his hospitality and generosity.

Mr. Stanhope, however, is by no means a fair sample of our English Honourables in regard to his accent, though well-drawn in other particulars. It is the exception and not the rule, to find a member of the English aristocracy enunciating his sentiments in the drawling tones of the Hyde Park loafer.

The character of Celine Faucher promised well, and it is to be regretted that we are permitted to see so little of one who bade fair to be somewhat original. It is a relief to find that the immaculate Marguerite becomes somewhat levelled to her earthly surroundings by the humanising influence of the society into which her marvellous fate projects her, and we are almost inclined to forgive Mr. Boldrewood his abrupt return to stage effect, because he bestows happiness all round with generous prodigality.

The title of the book appears to us to have too little to do with the matter of the story.

We would recommend the reader to skip the opening chapters, and assure him thorough enjoyment of all that remains of "The Sealskin Cloak."

A Sketch of the Natural History of Australia ; with some Notes on Sport. By FREDERICK G. AFLALO, F. R. G. S., F. Z. S. etc Illustrated by F Seth, London : Macmillan & Co., Ltd New York : The Macmillan Co. 1896.

MR. AFLALO'S Sketch of the Natural History of Australia possesses but little claim to scientific, and none to literary, merit ; but, it is admirably adapted to the purpose for which it is intended, that of a popular hand-book of the subject with which it deals, and the subject distinctly merits

such a hand-book, whether owing to its intrinsic interest, or to the widespread misapprehension that exists regarding it. So well-known and generally accurate a writer as the Rev. J. G. Wood, as lately as 1886, said of the great Australian Continent that all its really indigenous animals are marsupials; while his son, in his *Nature and her Servants*, published in the same year, wrote: "With one single exception (the dingo) no mammals belonging to any other group are found in any part of Australia. In the whole of the vast continent there are neither monkeys nor bats, nor beasts of prey, nor insect-eaters, nor bears, nor deer, nor rodents." There is, perhaps, still some difference of opinion as to whether the dingo and the rodents are really indigenous to Australia, though, apart from the fact that they are placental, there seems to be little or no independent reason for doubting it; but, as a matter of fact, not only are there beasts of prey and insect-eaters, albeit marsupial, in the Continent, but rodents and bats which do not share this peculiarity abound in great variety. Beyond the limits of the latter two genera, the dingo and such aquatic mammals as the dugong, two or three whales, and three seals, are the only exceptions to the rule, while thirty families of Australian vertebrates, or nearly three-fourths of the whole, are found nowhere outside the region.

Another common error is that it is the curious pouch which differentiates the marsupials from placental animals, whereas it is really a by no means constant feature, and the peculiarities which entitle them to rank as a separate order, are really the absence of *corpus callosum* between the hemispheres of the brain and the almost embryonic state in which the young are born.

Among other surprising features of the region are the complete absence of monkeys and wood-peckers from its forests, and the presence there, and only there, of the curious platypus among lower mammals and the gorgeous lorries among birds.

In one of its peculiarities the platypus affords an illustration of the liability even of such authorities in anatomy as Owen and Bennett to error. In spite of the testimony of the aborigines on the point, the statement that it was oviparous was unhesitatingly rejected by these and other writers as absurd. The question was not finally settled till 1884, when Mr. Caldwell, who went out from England for the purpose of investigating it, succeeded in proving that the young are produced from eggs, which are two in number, and are enclosed in a small white shell.

A remarkable feature about the avi-fauna of Australia, which is particularly rich, is that of the six or seven hundred species it includes, five hundred, in round numbers, are found nowhere

else. A similar feature is observable in New Zealand, where no fewer than fifty-eight out of sixty-nine families of land birds are confined to the islands. "Who," says the author, "can say what law restrains the strong-winged birds of Australia from visiting Maori-land, or some of the grotesque birds of the latter region—the mutton-eating *Kea*, for instance, once strictest of vegetarians, or the shore-hunting *anarhynchus*, with its conical bill turned to the right—from crossing the sea westward!" As a specimen of the writer's style, we may take the following passage regarding the mental capacity of the kangaroo:—

Passing for a moment from the physical development of the kangaroo to its mental standard, it would be interesting to know who first described the animal, nay, the marsupials generally, as lacking in intelligence. Some student, in all probability, too ready in his book learnt comparative anatomy to draw conclusions from the shape of the skull or size of the brain. For the enumeration of purely physical characters, such as are given in his valuable catalogue by Oldfield Thomas*, the dissection of specimens is all sufficient.

When, on the other hand, we aim at giving some account, however meagre, of the habits of any wild animal in the state of nature, we must seek that animal either in its home or in the reliable narratives of those who have met it there. One of these courses is honest, the other general; but more natural history is studied and written in the cosy armchairs of public libraries than readers wot of.

Neither the bush, however, nor the genuine observations of those who have hunted or stalked the kangaroo, could leave much impression of that animal's stupidity, so the report must have had its origin in the dissecting-room. The kangaroo has, let us grant, but a small brain. The seal has, on the other hand, a very large one. Yet I have seen seals knocked on the head, one after another, as stupid as any booby on an unvisited coast.

Stupid! that splendidly alert creature stupid, with the sensitive, twitching muzzle catching the faintest scent, great eyes sweeping the clear horizon, hairy ears warning it of the slightest danger! I wish some of these biographers might creep after it as I have done by the hour in the full glare of that pitiless Queensland sun, and they would inwardly curse its intelligence instead of laughing at its stupidity.

Timid it is, as the hare or any other comparatively defenceless animal; and in its agony of fear it will run pell-mell before the shouting beaters right past the deadly barrels. Indeed, from the way the eyes lie back on either side the long, arched snout, the animal cannot see close objects directly before it, and has been known, with what has been miscalled stupidity, to charge right on an ambush and fall an easy prey to the butt of a gun. Few animals so large are as easily killed. The does have been known to die of *fear*, and few but the largest males can live before the hounds for half an hour.

With so little cover as the plains afford, stalking these suspicious beasts is, as already stated, very ticklish work. I have never crept through the damp Highland heather after stags; but visions of Black used to rise before me when wriggling along on the baked sand, and I often thought what a blessing a good Scotch mist would have been. One occasion I recall perfectly. It was in the coast plains of central

* *Catalogue of Marsupials in the British Museum.*

Queensland. Hard by ran a swift and turbid stream carrying down to the reef bound sea all manner of flotsam from a mining camp a mile or two higher up. Over this racing *débris* flew hawks and kites innumerable, while sharks and catfish did the necessary scavenging beneath the surface. With rifles slung we crept through the dense belt of oyster studded mangroves and up the muddy bank, startling, maybe, more than one huge python and repulsive crocodile, of whose occurrence in Queensland this river is the southern boundary. As soon as we had emerged on the sandy plain, the glasses revealed a large herd of browsing kangaroo and wallaby, the whereabouts of which had been reported to us overnight. Cautiously as we advanced on the as yet unsuspecting beasts, every step flushed the long-billed ibis that flew shrieking from our path; and whenever we suddenly stooped out of sight, we were certain to light on a dozen hideous little landcrabs, which bade defiance with their grotesquely large claw.

The glasses being again brought into requisition after we had made a *détour* of about a mile, now revealed several of the creatures reared on end, sniffing the air and evidently suspecting mischief. It was disheartening indeed that such "stupid" creatures should observe us advancing in snake fashion through the long grass, when, without the glasses they looked to our eyes the veriest brown specks against the deep green background. Scarcely daring to breathe, we crouched to the earth, forgetful of snakes, ants, and other solaces of bush life until confidence was apparently restored. Another weary tramp of half a mile or so, and all further progress was blocked by a foul ditch, black and oozy. There was an abrupt halt, a muttered ejaculation, and a slight crackling of dry wood underfoot. Enough, though the objects of our care must have been full six or seven hundred yards off, and but for a miracle it would have been all up with our chance of a shot that time; the said miracle being that the "boomers"—veterans of the herd that are at times solitary and savage as the rogue elephant—having tapped on the ground as a signal to the females and young, led off most unexpectedly past our ambush. Doubtless, as we were on an island, much of which was unreclaimed swamp, escape was impossible in any other direction, and though no mean swimmer in river or sea, the kangaroo wisely refuses to trust its weight to the treacherous mud. So past went the whole herd in those leaps and bounds that make them such difficult butts for the "new chum." On this occasion, two fell victims, one to each gun.

The following remarks regarding the cause of the survival of the marsupial order in this region, though they throw little positive light on the subject are interesting:

The presence of a predominating marsupial order in Australia has, besides practically establishing the long isolation of that continent from the rest of the globe, also given rise to a number of ingenious theories professing to account for its survival in this last stronghold.

The absence of large indigenous carnivora is one, and this has been advanced, though scarcely with reason, against the early origin of the dingo. The late Professor Owen also had a theory that nature had designed the order to fight the battle of life amid the peculiar difficulties of those great central deserts of the only exclusively southern continent, where coastal ranges deprive the interior of all moisture from without. In the long droughts more especially, the Professor pictured the mother bearing her solitary offspring over vast tracts in search of water. And even apart from the pouch,

it is at once apparent that, excepting the placental dingo and rodents, all the mammals of that land are wonderfully adapted to survive the sudden changes of temperature, droughts, floods and bush-fires, to which Australia is much given.

Their fur protects them equally from the hot winds and sharp frosts, which make both plains and highlands insufferable at times.

In the long droughts they can exist for some time without water, and can travel over long distances when hard pressed. Some burrow, others escape to the tree tops, the kangaroos soon get away with their flying leaps, the bats, unless surprised in some cave, are always safe on the wing. For all that, the pouch of the marsupials and the scarcity of water in their native land are not quite so intimately connected, perhaps as Owen thought. In the first place Nature would have likewise equipped the animals of great waterless tracts in other parts of the world. Secondly, the only family of marsupials at present existing outside the Australian region, the true opossums, occur in some of the best-watered districts of America. And lastly, conclusive argument, the prevailing type in and around the great Australian desert is not, as might be expected, marsupial at all, but the rodents.

The presence of fossil marsupial remains in the earliest Australian strata, as well as in the secondary rocks of this country, and France, warrants the inference that the present climate of Australia has prevailed for a considerable period, and closely resembles that of prehistoric Europe. This is but another instance of the periodic "swing" of the Globe, and alternation of temperature in either hemisphere.

The Story of Morrice Lestrangle. BY G. W. S. OMOND, Macmillan and Co., London.

THERE is an old fashioned flavour about this account of the travels and adventures of Maurice Lestrangle, which places it in the same category as "Micah Clarke" and "The Courtship of Morrice Buckler," and will make it very acceptable reading to those out-of-date folk who prefer a stirring and wholesome romance to the psychological novel that has been so much in vogue of late years. The writer presents us with no problems to solve; airs no particular theories; preaches no new and strange doctrine; but aims simply at telling a plain unvarnished tale, and this he does with undeniable success. The scene of the story is laid in Scotland in the year 1765, and we get some graphic and interesting descriptions of Edinburgh and its environs, and of the manners that obtained there at that period among ladies of good position, some of whose little escapades will probably come as a surprise to those who, like the hero, are under the impression that Scottish women are staid and decorous above the average. Maurice Lestrangle, the hero, who, although French, is of Scotch descent, relates his own adventures, and manages to excite in his readers a keen interest in the winsome but unfortunate heroine who ultimately becomes his wife, and who so narrowly misses the gallows. It strikes us in this connection that, if this episode is true to life, prison discipline must have been somewhat

lax a hundred years ago, and that even given a faithful friend willing to run the risk of conniving at her escape, a woman would find it a trifle less easy now-a-days to escape from within the grim walls of the Tolbooth, than Alison Arbuthnot did. The narrative is concluded in 1804 by the hand of Gabrielle Alison Lestranger, the daughter of Maurice, who, on the death of her parents comes into possession of the manuscript which he had written in Turin; and, gathering up the threads of the story, she gives us the present volume. Mr. Omond's style is generally so good that we cannot help regretting that it is not still better, and that he so frequently overlooks the fact that a verb has a subjunctive mood. The constant repetition of sentences such as "if I was," "as if it was," &c., jars unpleasantly on a sensitive ear.

For Freedom's Sake. By ARTHUR PATERSON. Macmillan & Co., London and New York.

"FOR Freedom's Sake" made its first appearance in the columns of the *Weekly Times*. The scene of the story is laid in the United States during the troublous period which preceded the American civil war, when for any one to be suspected, in some of the States, of being an Abolitionist or the friend of one, was for him to become a marked man. What that meant in those days in America may readily be guessed by all who are acquainted with the country. The man who was unwary enough to make himself obnoxious to the majority of his fellows carried his life in his hand; and when the hero, after being condemned to death, escapes at the eleventh hour through the intervention of the woman he loves, the reader feels that fate was more than ordinarily kind. The chief interest of the tale centres in the true-hearted courageous girl who, in her heart an Abolitionist—though she seems unconscious of the fact—does not scruple to conceal the whereabouts of a runaway slave, and who risks everything to save her lover's life. We cannot help thinking that the subject of the story is a trifle belated. The day has gone by when the question of the American slave trade was a burning one, and when men's blood was stirred to boiling point by recitals of acts of cruelty perpetrated on his victims by the brutal slave owner, and it is not of sufficient general interest to be classed among those that are ever new. Mr. Paterson—although occasionally a little slipshod in his grammar—can, however, tell a thrilling story in a pleasing and sprightly manner, and manages, without any intricacies of plot, to carry his readers with him to the close.

Camps, Quarters and Casual Places. By ARCHIBALD FORBES, L.L.D. Macmillan & Co., London.

THERE is little, or nothing new in Mr. Archibald Forbes' "Camps, Quarters and Casual Places," most of the papers in which have appeared from time to time, in various London periodicals, but as they will all well bear re-reading, we are glad to welcome them in book form. As is perhaps to be expected the Camp looms largely in its pages, though Mr. Forbes does not forget his native land, but carries his readers with him to a salmon fishing on the banks of the Spey, and then to the "Inverness 'character' Fair." But it is amidst the smoke and the din of battle that he seems most at home, and we have some interesting reminiscences of Balaclava and of the Franco-Prussian war, while in chapters purporting to describe the Cawnpore and Lucknow of the present, the old, never to be forgotten story of those fateful places is recapitulated with all the writer's graphic power. Among the lighter papers we read again the pathetic little tale, "Matrimony under Fire," and the story of "Miss Priest's Bridecake," which, if we are not mistaken, appeared first under a slightly different title, will be familiar to most Anglo-Indians of over eighteen years' standing.

The Inn by the Shore. By FLORENCE WARDEN. Macmillan & Co., London and New York.

LOVERS of the sensational in fiction have learned to look forward to a new book by Miss Florence Warden with the almost certain assurance that in its pages they will find the stirring and exciting incidents which are necessary to their full enjoyment of a novel, and in this respect they will not be disappointed in her latest work "The Inn by the Shore." The mystery is started in the first chapter, and is well kept up to the close of the book when it is elucidated in a manner that will probably be a surprise to even the most hardened and experienced novel reader. It is not for us to tell the story, the interest of which consists in the mystification of those who would follow the fortunes of the pretty heroine and her friends, or to diminish the pleasure of their quest by disclosing anything of the plot; suffice to say, it is simply and brightly written, and no one who takes it up will be likely to lay it aside till the last page is reached.

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